

OR,
**A BRIEF
NARRATION**

**OF THE
Mysteries of State** carried on by the Spanish
Faction in **ENGLAND**, since the Reign of **Queen
ELIZABETH** to this day for the supplanting of the
Magistracy and Ministry, the Laws of the Land, and
the Religion of the Church of **ENGLAND**, especially
and how they were confederate with
the party were confederate with
and how he and they
to overthrow the Protestant Laws,
and Religion in the Church and State
of **England**, and **Scotland**.

**TOGETHER
With a Vindication of the presbyterian party, both
of Church-men and States-men in the Kingdom
of **England**, **Scotland**, and **Ireland**, against the Inde-
pendent and Popish party, who are both united
and confederate to destroy them, and
their RELIGION.**

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at the **Hague**, 1651.

To the Renowned Gentlemen of Europe; the Merchants of England.

Renowned SIRS,

THE Crown of *England* was the ancientst Christian Crown in the world, and that which had these two famous pillars Religion and Law, the purest and best in the world to underprop it; which made it so renowned.

The Nobles and Gentry of this Kingdom, some in their gowns, and some in their coats of Male, with their Pens and Swords (like *Solomon* twelve Lyons) stood round about these pillars to defend them; that they did underprop the Crown, whilst you (Renowned SIRS) adorned it, they were the gold of *Europe*, Crowns, and the Jewels in that gold; they held it stedfast, whilst you from each part of the world brought glory to it; but woe to us for our Crown is fallen! and the only lawfull European Christian Monarch murdered, and his Throne is tumbled down unto the dung-hill of Democraie, and with him the Princes of the Land are levelled to the dust; and how are you become this day a prey to all your enemies round about you, and share it some amongst you, that that pretend to protect you, are those Serpents in the wall, which whilst (in hopes of ease) you lean upon, they bite you. You are this day become a prey to all the cheevers in *Europe*, and will but your pretended protectors are the cause thereof, who forbid you trading with the *French* in such and such commodities, but only they that thereby provoke those Free States in *France*, to make a prey of you at Sea, who have made you determined in *Portugal*, but they that intend to make both the King of *Portugal* and you, vassals (if they can) to the King of *Spain* who hath taken from you the Trade of the *Barbadoes*, and given it to the *Hollanders*, but they that will thereby pick a quarrell with the *Hollanders*, to your utter ruin; who are they that put Taxes, Customs, imposts, and Burdens upon your Commodities, without conscience or reason, and (which is worst of all) who weaken that impost unjust, ungodly, and unlawful oaths upon you (for no other end than this, to get all the trading from you into the *Spanish* Factions hands, yea, into the Jews hands, rather then into sincere Protestants, for which end how oft have the Jews been invited and allured, by promises of a toleration, and of a Free-trade) to come over hither; and all to our you out of all.

Since the Protestant Magistracy and Protestant government is removed, the *Spanish* Faction are resolved to supplant and ruine the Protestant Minister, and the Protestant Merchant, and have they now made a fair progress already, and do they not, (as they like) but go on apace in these designs this day, who cannot (notwithstanding all their pretences) clearly see their intentions in their daily bloody and tyrannical designs.

I dare (without proclamation) affirm to you, that there are not two greater quotidian enemies to the Pope in the world, then the English Merchant, and the English Minister; had not the *London* Merchants his altars built up by the vast quantities of his commodities, and the *English* Court, and oft times both by him, by the Pope's agents, many long before this day, both the *Indies* had been the King of *England*, and the Gospel in this day gloriously flourishing there.

It is by great States-men conceived, that this engine of Independencie was framed by the Popes Politicians, merely to doo those Protestant Ministers, which in the time of the Prelates persecution fled to the *Indies* for a quiet and peaceable habitation; as in *New-England*, where the subtil Popish Nations (as is usually thought) defended for the business have in wound themselves in amongst the Protestants, and made such divisions by Schismes in the Government, and heresies in the doctrine of that Church, that the Heathens deride their divisions, and they are like there to blow up all the sincere Protestants (as here in *England*) and give that Country to the *Spanish* and *Portugall* Vassals.

I have not room to let down the political Arguments that I especially wish this Treatise
hostile of Independencie but only this: It is the only means to destroy Magistracy, and take
away its coercive power in a State, and so to follow the doctrine and opinions of the Calve-
nists in the Church: this I say, and a pain that can suffice this day, by woeful experi-
ence to be young and more in this world.

Now, because the Spanish Faction in England lye so closely at the heels of Govern-
ment, and proceed to cunningly to set all for the Protestant Religion, and thereby draw in
many Protestants both in the House and Councell of State, to conspire with them; (which
dof they for their designs, I am confident they would abhorre them) I have with this short
and imperfect story, which for more like I have chosen in the tainted rage of broken lan-
guage, being that which my pen hath fir'd hold of, there being scarce time or leisure for me to
review the papers after I had writ them: and when they were gone from me, I saw them no
more, till they were past correcting.

I mention this only to beg pardon for my obsolete words, and the broken language, which
you will easily find therein. As for the truth of the story, I am so confident of it that it
makes me to profess it boldly to you as fit patrons, or rather proper patrons of it.

I have but little beg of it, and now in haste I have brought it forth, and do confess that
you are the fathers of it, and therefore lay it at your doors, for to take it in and nourish it.

Your val. memories (as the retentive faculty) received and conserved Foreign and Do-
mestick transactions, (as the matter) which your eloquent tongues, (as the vivumens of
generation) cast into the shallow womb of my capacity, I shall own all the imperfections of
proceeding from my infirmities, and as for the *opportunity*, let the Printer (the Mid-wife)
bear the blame of them.

Sir, I beg nothing but pardon of you for what I here present you, it is not any personall
engagement that makes me dedicate these papers to you, for (as to that) I am, and desire to
be, in your worth only contemplative; I had rather be of the deserving, then the receiving
hand with you, not out of a proud humor, but out of a sincere affection which makes me
study earnestly which way to deserve your favors; I must confesse there are severall defects in
this tract which over haste hath caused, as the leaving out of the designs of the master wheel
of the Spanish Faction, (the Earl of Strafford) together with his designs against the Laws and
Liberties of the Protestants in the three Kingdoms, and how enraged the Spanish Fa-
ction were at the King for not preventing his death, and how they always layd it in his dish,
even to his dying day, and how the Spanish Faction in revenge brought the King to be ig-
nominiously tryed in the same place where Strafford and Bishop Laud were tryed, being
the two Heads of the Spanish Faction. This is (which troubles me) totally left out,
and severall other illustrations, which had they been inserted, would have made it cleer to
all the world, that the Spanish Faction are they who first drew the King to all exorbitancies,
and at last laid it to his charge as his crime, for which like unmannall Rogues, and impudent
Traytors, they murdered him; I thought this the fittest time to write this story, partly in
regard of you my worthy patrons, who can witness to the truth of it, which should be writ-
ten in another age, scarce any man would believe there ever were such monsters in the world,
to act such unmannall villanies, as here are related, but chiefly to forewarn those Protestants
in the House of Commons, in the Council of State and in the Army, so as they may be able to
minable practices of the Spanish Faction, that so they and their Families may escape the spee-
dy judgments that will inevitably fall on such monstrous Traytors. For ought I know this
may be their last warning. I pray God they may take it before it be too late. However, I
have in duty to God, and love to my native Country, freed my own soul; and last of all, I
think this little tract seasonable to support that late unlicensed book called *Lingua Testium*,
and

and *Manner Testimon*, it is one book, though in two parts; which shew, that the Magistracy and the Ministry of England are the two witnesses, and that the usurper *Cromwell* with his new packt party, set those that shall slay the witnesses, and reign three years and a halfe, and afterwards by the overruling power of the Magistracy and Ministry in *Scotland*, where *Cromwell* that beast of the earth must be slain, which (he saith) must be about the end of that year, when he hath tyrannized so long in *Scotland*, then he and his party must be slain there. That book saith also that the battell that there shall be fought betwixt the King of *Scotland* and *Cromwell*, is called the great battell.

For my part I do verily believe it, and upon this ground; for if there be a Kingdom purely professing godliness in the world, it is *Scotland*; if there be a lawfull Magistracy and Ministry in the world, it is in *Scotland*. And thirdly, This battell in *Scotland* is like to decide the controversie betwixt the only lawfull Magistrate in the world, and the greatest upstart usurper in the world; and if the Lord graciously appear (which I day and night pray) to overthrow these usurpers that are now in *Scotland*, the Spanish Faction not only in *England*, but throughout Europe is like to fall, and then let the Pope expect a suddain overthrow; all which the Lord hasten and accomplish, through the mediation of our Lord Jesus for his Elect sake, that in their great distress, cry unto him day and night. I beseech you pardon my boldness, what I have written is from a sincere love that I owe to my native Country, as for those that disdain what I have written, I fear them not; if they are men of wit, I dare answer them; if men of power, I am above, and without the reach of their malice and hurt, and therefore regard them not. I have long

IT

IT is not unknown to them that know any thing in States affairs, that for these threecore years past, the Spaniard Faction used all polititique means to overthrow the Civill and Ecclesiastick Government of *England*, since he was not able by force to accomplish it; what rebellion did his Statists raise against Queen *Elizabeth*, when all hopes were frustrated by his Armado, in 1588.

In the reign of King *James*, (whom the Spanish and Romish Faction called the Fox, because he prevented all their designs against Religion, when the Spanish Faction could not by powder blow him and his Parliament up, by secret, under-ground, night treachery; how did they notwithstanding makethen pennyworths out of him, by pretended friendship with him, making a League of Peace with the Protestants of *England*, only to wage a war the more securely with the Protestants of *Germany*, to their utter overthrow.

In King *Charles* his reign, the Spanish Faction (I know not how, unlesse by receiving the Earle of *Bristol* into the Office of *Achirophil*) increased and multiplied; who they were that first open'd the back door, to let them into Court, is hard to say. The silly *ignoramus's* of those times cryed out of *Buckingham*, though really none so much their enemy, and to say the truth, the Spanish Politicians were those who first and most aspersed him, and had he escaped murder at *Portsmouth*, the Spanish Politicians would have indeavoured so to contrive it at the Parliament, that they would have brought him on the Scaffold at *London*.

The Spanish Faction foreseeing who should succeed King *James*, laid timely in before hand to obtain their ends. *Gondomore* the Spanish Embassador was not idle in his time, who with the help of the Bishop of *Spoleto*, that strange and suddain Convert, (whose preface to his printed book, when I read, made me admire his Hypocrisie, till I see it since exceeding common amongst the Spanish Politicians) made a fair and easy pas-

by the English Clergy for the Spanish Faction to enter into Court. The Lord Dicks plot was not then discovered, in sending this Bishop into King James his bosome, from whence to pet venom into Charles his Successors face. *Dixies* wisdom was to play least in light, when he did the greatest mischief to the Protestants.

It would be too tedious to relate, (if one could) the mysterious actings of State Politicians about this time, in breaking off the Spanish match, on purpose to promote the more securely the Spanish Faction, and how the French match with the King was made, meerly to bring them in; 'tis strange to mention, and were it not a known truth, that relation would be thought incredible: But I cannot enter upon this relation, because I have another thing more necessary at this time to relate, and I am confined within a little compass; yet this I must note by the way, as an Introduction to what I have to say, that the Spanish Faction entered with King Charles, and Gondomore, had his creatures to act his part when he was gone, as if the Earle of Bristol, *Corington*, Sir *Henry Kins Senior*, and many more besides, that are to this hour known to be of that Faction, besides the Clergy men, who crept up apace into preferment at Court, by siding with the same Faction, as Bishop Land, Bishop wren, and severall other notable Statists, whose designs afterward, when they came to rime them, appeared visible.

These Politicians were above the vulgar reach, either to be read, or understood; yet there were those sage Protestants at that time, that could both easily read and understand their designs, but none durst speak their minds openly; for to what purpose should they, when all the passages to the Kings ear were stopped by these Politicians, so that there could nothing be expected of good to be done, but much of danger to the remnant, as was manifest by the sufferings of Mr. *Fris*, Dr. *Bastwick*, Mr. *Burton*, and severall others.

The chief Offices in State, were for the most part put into the hands of those of the Spanish Faction, and severall under Offices into known Jesuits hands, I could name divers, but I forbear in this place.

The Ecclesiastique Dignities and Offices were likewise for the most

most part consist'd upon the friends to the Spanish Faction, and after the same manner were both the Universities moulded, none might be admitted to the chief Offices there, but such as were of that Spanish Stamp.

These being seated in their Power, made it their whole business to suppress all contrary parties whatsoever in Church and State, both these; to colour their designs the more easily, pleaded for arbitrary power in the King, pretending that they had no other design, then to promote the Royall Interest, and make him an absolute Monarch; whereas all this was but to get the Power of ruling and governing the Church and State affairs of *England* into their own hands, which in a manner they had, and made such use of their time, that the Church and State were almost brought to the Spanish Modell.

The Star-chamber was little inferiour to a Spanish inquisition, and there was very little difference, if any in outward ceremonies betwixt the Spanish Churches and ours: they had Altars, Crucifixes, Tapers, bowings, cringings, and many such ceremonies, and so had we in the most of our Cathedralls, especially in the University Chappells, so that well might Dr. Dapper (one of the Faction) insert this in the preface to the Statutes, in the time of his Vice-chancellorship in *Oxford*. *Regnante Maria optandâ temporum felicitate, quod legibus decorat moribus suppletum est.* Indeed he had almost his wish, for such and so many were the innovations and innovators, which daily came from beyond Sea from the Romish and Spanish Court, who were courted and preferred in the Universities, that as that Noble Gentleman Sir *Thomas Littleton* in the beginning of the Parliament, said, *If it were seriously looked into, and reformed, the English Nobility the next age, by their tutors subtilty would be brought to Popery, so superabundant were the Popish Priests, and so highly mounted in England.*

The Spanish Faction having got a Deputy to their own minds in *Ireland*, and having moulded things to their own desires there; they cast about, how to give a total rout to the Protestant Religion, and to reduce things to that happy state (as they call'd it) which they were in Queen *Mary's* times, more could not be done in *England* then was already done, considering that the King was a sound and resolute Protestant.

The next Spanish design therefore was, since they had got all
 out the most of the chief Offices in Church and State into their
 own hands, and by this means jostled out the sound Protestants in
 the State, and banished, sequestred, silenced, or imprisoned, at
 least kept under hatches the soundest Protestant Divines, and so
 made an easie way for Popery to enter: wanting now only force
 to take possession, they consulted how to get an Army in their
 own hands, which might make them perpetuall possessors of
 what they had in hand already.

That therefore they might raise an Army, they began a need-
 lesse quarrell with the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and that the de-
 sign might not be discovered, first the Kings Chaplains were en-
 duced to applaud the King, as the only great Protestant refor-
 mer in the world, and to preach the excellency of uniformity in
 Religion, both in Doctrine, Discipline, and Government.

Mean while the Spanish Politicians had framed a Liturgy for
 the Church of *Scotland*, with a pretence to make the three King-
 domes uniform in Religion, but the design was far otherwise, for
 they that framed the Liturgy, knew full well the Scots Kirk would
 never subject themselves to the English Arch-bishop, much lesse
 to his Popish innovations, and therefore it was sent to the Kirk
 in *Scotland*, who rejecting it, frustrated not, but fulfilled the
 Spanish Factions desires. For hereupon, the Spanish Faction,
 (who had environed the King every day of the week, both at the
 Councell-table, and in his Chappell, yea, and in his Closet) ex-
 claimed against the Scots as rebellious, irreligious, ingratefull,
 and unnaturall, and that speedy course must be taken with them,
 otherwise they would be an example of rebellion to the Pu-
 ritanes, who in *England* pricked up their eares at the
 news.

Hereupon the King was perswaded to levy an Army against
 the Scots, which he did, wherein the Spanish Faction plaid their
 parts to the purpose, to get the greatest Interest in the Army,
 by leading it with men of their own principles, which were ei-
 ther Papists or Atheists, and those of the Spanish Faction, as the
Goringes, and severall others in this expedition, the Pope had a
Nuncio here in *England* to further that designe, and another in
Ireland, to rowze up the Catholics in this war against the Scots,
 where

where great summes of money were levied, and a considerable Army for the same design raised, and the Spanish Faction there heading it.

The sage Protestants of *England, Ireland, and Scotland* perceiving the Popish designs to be drove so high, and fearing the issue to be the destruction of the Protestant Religion, shewed themselves as willing subjects to the King, but most unwilling to serve him in that war against the Scots.

The Protestant Nobles therefore of both the Kingdoms, especially Duke *Hamblaton*, & the Lord *Louthan* of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Essex*, and the Earl of *Holland* of *England* bestirred themselves at this time, who through the good providence of God, were the instruments of making a pacification betwixt the two Kingdoms, ready with two great Armies to clash one upon another, and not only so, but prevailed with the King to grant a Parliament, leaving the Army in the North, in a defensive posture, undissolved.

The Spanish plot being hereby frustrate, made them brace their wits more then ever, for they no whit dispaired of the designe, but vexed that it was retarded: so far was the Spanish Faction from fearing of a Parliament, that they joyced at it, especially since they had the Army under their command, neither was there any ground of fear otherwise, for they had (when at *London*) the King their friend, and many of the Peers of the Realm, and the Bishops linked in a confederacy with them, besides the many Members of the lower House of their own procuring, and put the worst to the worst, if the Parliament crossed their designs (as they did) they knew the King with a word (as he did) could dissolve them.

The dissolving of that Parliament, was the melting of the Kingdoms affections from the King, the former good Act of calling a Parliament did not so much heighten the peoples affections towards him, as the other of dissolving it dejected their spirits, and increased their jealousies, all the talk was, that the Papists would cut their throats, and this day they would do it, and that day they would do it, which made the people in an amazed feare, put themselves voluntarily into defensive posture.

The

The Parliament being broken up, the Spanish Faction with redoubled resolutions prosecute their designs: hereupon the war with *Scotland* was on the wheels again, and the King calls the Nobles of his Kingdome to attend him, who according on the King at *York*, so prevailed with him, that he granted that another Parliament should be called, and a cessation of Armes betwixt the two Kingdomes; this news was as pleasing to the Kingdomes, as displeasing to the Spanish Faction.

When the Parliament was convened at *Westminster*, the King desired subsidies, and that they might be assured the King did not call them for his own ends, upon their requests he granted them a triennial Parliament, and to confirm therein a good opinion of his intentions to them, he granted them to sit, until they should dissolve themselves.

This being confirmed by the King, the Parliament granted him those Subsidies he required, and the City of *London* lent him moneys, (which he took exceeding kindly) to pay the Army undissolved in the *North*.

Peace being concluded betwixt the two Kingdoms, and the King in his own person giving assurance of it, by his confirming acts of grace upon the Generall, and severall other of the Gentry in the Kingdome of *Scotland*.

The English Parliament went roundly to work, and forthwith fell upon the Spanish Faction, which made the Popes *Non-sully*, and severall other (as *Sir Kevin Digby*, and others) to beg leave to tuckt after him, besides *Cunningham*, *Munro*, *Winter*, *Windsor*, *Jermain*, *Porter*.

This news on a sudden flew through *Europe*, to *Rome* it came, which startled all the Conclave, whose fair hopes of reducing three Kingdoms to the See of *Rome*, was utterly broken.

And that which drove the Spanish Faction to despair, was that the Army (the prop which they leaned on, with which they intended to overawe the Parliament) was disbanded before they could bring it up to *London*, against the Houses sitting there.

The disbanning of that Army, was the cause of the most of the Spanish Factions lying, who saw their hopes thereby utterly frustrated.

Time

Time it was therefore now nearer, for the Pope and his Politicians to bestir themselves, for two Protestant Kingdoms were firmly united in peace, and as *Scots* and in the beginning of their war banished all the Papists, so *England* began apace to rid their hands of them.

They began first with the Jesuits and Priests, which was taken ill at Court, who used all means to save their guilty necks out of the halter, but in vain, for the Parliament proceeded to the imprisoning and hanging many of them.

There being now no hopes left for the prevailing of the Spanish Faction, either in *Scot* and or *England*, least it should prove so in *Ireland* also, as there was just cause of fear, since the greatest Head-piece of the Romish Faction (the Deputy of *Ireland*) was questioned and imprisoned by the English Parliament, the Pope (least he should loose all footing in the King of *England's* Dominions) consults (by his *Nuncio* then resident there) with the Irish Papists, to make use of their time for the regaining of their Liberties, and shaking off the English yoke, dispensing with their former oaths of subjection to the King of *England*, and this was the true ground of the Irish rebellion, and bloody massacre, of above two hundred thousand Protestants, which should have been acted by the Popish party about the same time in *England*, against the Protestants could they, (as they earnestly intended) have made themselves compleat Masters of the Northern Army.

But the Romish Politicians knew there was no coming in at that door for them in *England*, and therefore (like wary statists) foreseeing which way the torrent of the Protestants passions ran, since they could not stop them, thought it good policy to swim with them.

Yet did they not leave any politike means unattempted, whereby to stop the Parliamentary proceedings, for they drew the Queen beyond-Sea, and the King beyond Law, to forsake his Parliament sitting then at Westminster.

Now must we think, but that there were those of the Spanish Faction, then sitting in the House, who on design (though under another pretence) gave all the provocations they could possibly to the King, to depart from *London* in discontent: this we, they have

(6)
have lived to see the Popish power in the West, this day on
the English Theatre, can plainly discern, and with bleeding
tears, and weeping eyes, and trembling hands, point at the
persons of those that are his enemies, and his enemies are

'Tis the Master-piece of *Rome's* policy, timely to lay in his
Party on both parts, where there is a commotion, or a civill
war in a Kingdome, where he hath any Interest, it hath been so
in *Italy*, it is so at this day in *France*, and it is manifest to all
the world that will observe it, that the Spanish Faction in the
English civill wars, started themselves cunningly on both
sides for the Popes advantage, and there is a politike reason why
it should be so; for let the victory fall on which side it will, the
Pope hath still his Cause on foot by his means, and his Faction
to carry on his designs, without check or controul, as being on
the prevailing side.

And now I come to demonstrate, how the Pope and the Span-
nish Faction carried on their designs against the Protestant Ma-
gistracy, Ministry, and Religion, in the civill warres of Eng-
land.

The differences between King and Parliament being blown
up by the Spanish Faction, to a longed for civill warre, there
were three sorts of men sided with each Party, which proposed
to themselves their severall ends.

On the Parliaments side there was first a broken undone, im-
poverisht self-seeking party, which pretended zeal to Religion,
and for the conservation of Parliaments priviledges against Po-
pish Invaders, but they intended their owne profit and
gaine.

1. There was a Schismaticall, faction, hereticall party, such as
the *Separatists*, the *Anabaptists*, *Antinomians*, and these stood
meerly for the Parliament, in hopes to purchase to themselves at
last a toleration of their waies, and that way to promote their
Interest.

3. There was a sincere godly reformed Protestant party,
which took part with the Parliament, meerly to rescue the King
out of the Spanish Popish Factions hands, who had drawn and
driven him away from his Protestant Parliament, with a designe
to levy a warre against them, and overthrow them, and in their
overthrow

overthrow to introduce an arbitrary Government, to the ruine of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws of the Realm.

So in the Kings Party, there were likewise three sorts of men that served him.

1. There was a party that meerly sought their own preferment, to get wealth and honor under the King.

2. There was another Papish party which zealously served the King, in hopes to get a toleration, and something more in the overthrow of the Parliament.

3. And there was a Noble quick-sighted party, that foresaw what the designe was against Monarchy, and to introduce Monarchy to the ruine of the King, and the Peers of the Land.

Of these parties on each side, the Independent and the Spanish party strove soonest to be in Arms, and to lead an Army on either side; To that a quick-sighted States-man, that had been well versed in Italian plots, and Spanish tricks, might have easily espied the Popish Faction on either side, designed to throw down the Civil and Ecclesiastike Government of England, let the conquest fall on either side.

Those of the Independent party on the Parliaments side; were principally the Lord Say, the Lord Brink, and the Lord Say's sons: Together with Mr. Oliver Cromwell, who though inferiour in Order of Dignity, yet not of policy to any of them.

These were first in Armes, and most earnestly indeavoured to be Heads of the Parliament Army, and for that end, gathered to them very many honest religious men; who in the simplicity of their hearts, believed their religious pretences for the bringing home of the King, and preservation of the Kingdomes Liberties, to be all, as also of Religion.

The Spanish Faction on the Kings side (for I treat now only of the treacherous party laid in by the Spanish Faction on both sides) were more covert in their designs, because more obvious to jealousies, and most suspected on both sides, as driving on a Spanish design; and therefore all their policy was, to act by professed Protestants on the Kings part, and altogether to professe the promotion of the Protestant Religion; and the establishing of the King and Parliaments Prerogative, and priviledges, with

the peoples Liberties, the same said the Parliament at *Westminster*.

The Remonstrances of each party divide the Kingdoms affections betwixt the King and Parliament, and at last set them one against the other, each party aspersing their opposite, which was the thing intended and designed by the Spanish Incendiaries.

These divisions made both parties only agree, to go to warre against each other, a sad agreement; yet so well pleasing to the Incendiaries on both sides, that he was accounted a Malignant on either side, that pacified hard for an happy agreement betwixt the King and Parliament.

The Lord *Say* by the procurement of the Spanish Faction was made Master of the Court of *Wards*, and therefore by way of gratitude, he requited their kindnesse, by furthering their designs, which was to asperse those Protestants, whose great designs and indeavours were to make an accord betwixt the King and themselves. Hereupon, the young Lord *Digby* was most injuriously dealt with, and his speech burn'd by the hangman, on purpose to drive him from the House. (though I run retrograde here, tis not impertinent) and afterward Sir *Edward Dering* was most foully aspersed, yea, and by *Say* and *Brooke* party of tumultuary Secaries, and many other honest-hearted ignorant Zealots, many of the Parliament House were so threatned, for not running in the same riotous road with them, that they were through their own fears hereupon, inforced to fly from the Houses.

But this designe was too short to reach the Spanish Factions ends, though it did much promote them; for there were those stout and sage Protestants in the Parliament House, who feared neither men nor divells in the just defence of the Kings person, and Prerogative, the Parliaments priviledges, the Churches rights, and the Kingdoms Liberties; therefore there was no way but the sword, by which the Spanish Faction could expect in this storm to get again to the helme of Government; and hereupon the Kings Standard was set up in the Kingdome by that Part.

And the Lord of *Essex*, (to the grief of *Brooke* and *Say*, and that party) was sent forth General of the Parliaments Forces, with

with Commission to suppress those tumultuary people, assembled together against the Parliament, under pretence of defending the King, and withall to have a care of the Kings person, this clause of having a care of the Kings person was extreme distastfull to the Independent Faction on the Parliament side, and to the Spanish Faction on the Kings side; therefore distastfull, because 'twas the great barr that kept a Union on the Parliaments part with the King, and tyed them and all those in subjection to them, to their Allegiance to the King, and in all rationall and sober minds proclaimed the Parliament in their intentions Loyall to the King, however it was by many uncharitable persons judged rather a piece of policy then affection.

The Earle of *Essex* being Generall, the Independent party used all possible means to get into his ears, and so creep into his affections, and by that means at last to lead him to their own designs.

But that magnanimous Earle, being a man of deeds, and not of words, was not so easily in love with men of words, and not of deeds, for that he (like the deaf adder) would not be charmed by these charmers, though they charmed never so sweetly.

The Lord *Brook*, Colonel *Fines*, and Captain *Cromwell*, were the chief of the Independent party, who were all three men of singular parts, eloquent in expression, and quick in apprehension, only deficient in Military Affairs, which consisteth in skil and valour; herein they were like swallows, nimble tongued, long winged, but short footed; their Military parts were too short for their wit, which argued, that in *Essex* his Army there was no rising for such swift flyers.

Colonel *Fines* lost himself in that cowardly charge, and base retreat which he made at *Powicks* Bridge, whence he ran away, and led all his cowards after him, and left a few stout gallant men to indure the furious encounter of two Princes; where Noble Colonel *Sands* received his deaths wound, and brave Major *Duglas* fought til he died: this, with his niggardly proud deportment towards the souldiery, made him extremely infamous throughout the Army, so that in policy he thought it his best way to withdraw, which he did, by supplanting Colonel *Essex*, and seating himself in *Brisfel* as Governor of that famous Garrison.

The Lord *Brook* perceiving that there were men of wit and valour equally, if not excelling himself about Generall *Essex*; such as that Noble *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Morick*, Sir *Edward Peto*, and all prudent Counsellors, skillfull warriors, and valiant men, who would easily espy, and assemibly prevent any new broach'd designs, which they saw run eccentricke to the publike good, he hereupon withdrew from Generall *Essex*, making a very plausible excuse (though a good while after) that he was called to be Major Generall of *Warwick-shire*, *Stafford-shire*, and *Leicester-shire*.

Now there was a clear way made for the rising of the Independent party upon their own bottome.

This Lord a little before this, had writ two books, and printed them, the one called, *The Nature of Truth*, wherein (himself doth as good as confesse it) there was no lesse then seventeen intellectuall errors, a good copy for his succeeding sect to follow, especially when these (according to the Politicians hints) must be written upon the white-paper of womens affections, of which sex, for their affections sake, he thinks the greatest number shall be saved; a brave trap; and hath since been well set by that Faction to catch women in.

His other book was for Independency of Churches, against Bishops; this was the first weapon that was cunningly drawn against the Ministry; and this book was as a large draw-net, whereby he drew all the Separatists in the Kingdome to him.

He was without doubt a great Politician within his own Sphere, I mean, to promote his own designs.

He was one that had thoroughly studied all interests, and (so far as I could perceive by my small acquaintance with him) indeavoured to satisfie every interest, at least so far, as to unite each party to himself, and in this he was the rarest looking glasse that ever I beheld, every man might see his own interest in him, who perhaps intended none but his own, he was a perfect tollerator of any Religion by his discourse, but for the present, a Courtier only of the Orthodox Ministry, had he lived, in probability he would have been more popular then any Peer of the Realm; but suddain death surpris'd him in an entry of a house, where looking out, a musket bullet met him, and put an end to all his policy.

And

And now I come to that other of the Independent party, Captain *Oliver Cromwell*, a man, though inferior to the two forenamed gentlemen in person, yet not in parts, he is a gentleman descended of an Ancient, but low Family in estate.

The best part of his estate, and his fathers before him, was in a Brewhouse, which yeelded them yearly profit.

This *Oliver Cromwell* (for I have diligently inquired after him) in his youthfull daies, being strong, witty, and full of youthfull heat, affecting exceeding much popular applause, gave himself to the vanities of youth, as to drinking, cudgell-playing, and lascivious company; so much, and so scandalously, that he was at last commonly called by the name of the Town-bul of *Elis*, this his neighbours report to this day.

But time corrected these errors in him; for when he came to more maturity, the habit of reason, which was overborne in youth, by the force of his lusts, began now to gather more strength, and to repell those passions; for his reason told him, that in an Age where Vice is common, Popularity is to be acquired by some untrodden way of singularity.

The man therefore on a suddain, no man knows why, nor how, steps out of the vulgar road of vices, and climbs up on a suddain into the lofty mountains of Puritanism, so called at that time, the Sabbath breaker, became a strict Sabbath keeper, the drunkard became temperate, and the lascivious goat became (at least in shew) a sheep; he that jeered Lectures, became a diligent frequenter of Lectures; he that hated good Ministers, became a protector of them, and none so zealous a protector of them against Popish Bishop *Wren*, as he.

He became the promoter of private meetings, in fastings and prayings, and none exceeded him in any point of Puritanisme; which doubtlesse this subtile Fox perceived was the way (if any) either to be taken off (as others he perceived had been) from that factious way so destructive to Episcopacy, by preferment from them, or the Court, or if a Parliament, which the whole Kingdom longed for, were called, he knew hereby, that he lay in the eyes and hearts of all the Puritan party, to prefer him, and indeed they did out of all measure dote on him; insomuch that I heard a godly Minister say, *He should sooner suspect himself for a Hypocrite, then Mr. Cromwell.*

This

This last took and hereby when a Parliament was called, he got to be a Parliament man, in the which he continued not long, for he well knew his parts could never get him preferment there; therefore to the Army he betook himself, where he associated with Colonel *Fine*, and that party of Separatists, with him under General *Essex*. He showed much of a good Christian, and a good husband, in fasting and praying, and saving his pay, but little of a good Soldier in fighting for the Kingdome, which was his proper calling.

His outward life was altogether Religion, which his subtilty new made a double and triple advantage of; For he commonly made his Religion pay his quarters where-ever he came; his winning words and courteous profers, and good husbandry in his quarters made people (that esteemed not virtually then) desire earnestly his company; and hereby also he won the hearts of all those godly people that discoursed with him, whom he left as so many drums so beat up for him when occasion should be offered.

I have heard severall of my acquaintance, and neer kindred, where he quartered, say that he would discourse so feelingly of the working of grace on the soule, and of the love of Christ, and pray so sweetly, and heavenly, that they thought if there were ever a Saint in the world, he was one; they thought they could not praise him enough, and were ready to fly in any mans face, that did but suspect him for an Hypocrite.

This gentleman, so long as pay was rise in General *Essex*, his Army continued in it, though destitute of mates; for the Lord *Brook*, and Colonel *Fine* and their parties with them were gone.

At last the silver tide began to ebb on the Parliaments part, and the Army began to grow more dissolute and rude for want of pay, which was a great grief to the General, and to the honest Officers and souldiers, who many of them began to withdraw from the Army.

About this time *Cromwell* thought it a fit opportunity to take his leave of the Army, and to repair into *Cambridge-shire*, where he had a double Interest, the one at the Committee as was a Parliament

liament man; and of that Committee, therefore, as he was a known religious man, and highly esteemed of the goodly party thereabout, especially of those of the Separation, to whom he had given several pledges of his love, and retained it openly upon all occasions.

About this time the Parliament was in the wane, which was the only time for such upstarts to seek footing for future greatness.

The Lord of Essex grew weaker, and the King grew stronger.

The Parliament was destitute of foreign aid, but the King

was befriended by the King of Denmark, who with Ammunition

on and Arms had much assisted him, and with shipping, money,

and other necessities was providing for him; but (saith my Au-

thor) who is a near kinsman to the Lord Essex, and a Statesman,

such was the prevalency of the Lord Essex with the Spanish Faction,

at the Emperors Court in Germany, to withdraw the Imperial

Army from the Swedish Forces, and such was his preva-

lency by his subtil Agents with the Swedish Council, that the

Swedish Forces in Germany for want of employment, and pay,

fell into the King of Denmark's Contrivance, into the Duke of

Holstein, where they totally diverted the King of Denmark's

designs, intending the King of England. I mention this, to shew

how the Spanish Faction, and the English Independents, have

been (though pretended enemies) old and fast friends in their

intention to subvert the King of England, but to return to

our purpose.

The Kings party prevailed univerally in Wales, and grew po-

tent and formidable in the North, and in the West numerous.

The Fairfaxs maintained the Parliaments cause in the North

against the Battle of Marston, and again against the Lord

Essex, and Sir William Brudenell, in the West, against Sir Ralph Hopton, and

Sir William Brudenell, in the North, against the Lord Fairfax, and

his strong forces, these, though they acted their several parts

like vigilant and valiant Warriors, yet were they overpowered

by the Lord Fairfax, and his party, who were more numerous, and

more valiant, and more experienced in the art of War.

The Lord Fairfax was cut off, and his party dispersed, the

City of Bristol was basely, if not treacherously lost by Colonel

Finey, who for the same was condemned to die, who made his

escape

leap to the Spanish Faction beyond Seas.

The Lord Generall Essex his Army sick and uselesse, and Sir William Waller at the Devises counted, so that the Parliament had scarce any footing, but what they had in Garrisons here and there in the Kingdome.

The six associated Counties, with the City of London, was all the free ground that the Parliament possessed, and there the Earle of Manchester with a body of foot, but very few horse, was employed against the Kings party in Lin, and in those parts. And now was the fit time for this religious Politician upon the ruines, and losses, and misfortunes of others, to make himself great.

Sir William Waller, and Sir Arthur Haslerig brought off with them (notwithstanding the rout at the Devise) at least sixteen hundred horse to London, amongst whom were many gallant soldiers and pious Christians, these were quartered in the associated Counties, and now begins this Politician to act his part.

The great want of the soldiery at this time throughout the Kingdome, was money, and the great grief of the honest religious Troopers was, because they saw so much Profanities in the Army, this on my knowledge is true.

This Politician therefore to hook this gallant honest party, both of the Lord Brookes, Sir William Waller, and Sir Arthur Haslerig to him. First, he timely seized on all the Colledge and Hall plate in Cambridge, which was his setting up in flock, which he well knew was the great loadstone to draw swords to him.

Now that he might sound the rumpet to all religious men to flock into him, as the only Zealot in the Kingdome, and patron of the eminent Saints, he having sixteen or eighteen honest men in his troop, made them his Deacons and Emulators into all parts, which brought very many men to him, but yet there was still a thorn in the side of them, whilst the greatest part of his troop remained profane, and looked into the actions of his godly party with scorn; this he soon perceived, & therefore took this course, if he heard any man speak profanely, presently he dismissed him, unless he could get another Captain to exchange, or men to Cromwells humor for him, or if he saw a man drunk, or if he saw

and at Religion, or were any way profane, immediately he turned them off, so that in a short space he brought a troop of near an hundred men, to be scarce in number twenty: this though primo insidiam, it seemed to be a ridiculous piece of folly, yet was it one of the subtillest pieces of policy, that ever any single man acted; for hereby he raised himself, by the weakning of those, which in future times might oppose him: by this stratagem he sucked and scum'd, not only the choice honest men from Sir William Waller, but from Generall Essex, and from severall other parts of the Kingdome; that upon this account they did flock to him, I know it for a certain truth; and by this stratagem in a short space he increased his twenty men, to neer twenty good Troops, with which he marched into *Lincolnshire*, and there he gave Major General King a great defeat, and thus did this Politician first set himself on horseback, to ride next to the Earle of Manchester, being hereupon made the Lieutenant Generall of Horse under him.

The Independent Faction having been, since the Lord *Brooke*'s death, like hounds at a fault, here stroke in again, and made a fuller cry then ever, pursuing swiftly their designes without stop.

The Spanish Faction on the Parliament side that flogged before, now began to take heart again, and turn themselves into all shapes to fit this Politicians designes; but since they had the more probability to carry all on the Kings side at this time, there was a cessation (with the Popes *Nuncio*'s liking) made with the Irish Rebels, that so the Protestants in arms in *Ireland*, might go over into *England* to assist the King, which was done, and at the same time the Duke of *Lorraine* was earnestly solicited to send money and men to the Kings assistance: at this time Sir *K. William Digby*, who was then the Queens Agent at *Rome*, was exceeding busy, having admission into the Popes presence, at least three times a week, as I was informed, by a Noble gentleman, who was an eye-witnesse of what he affirmed, being at that time in *Rome*.

The sincere Protestant Parliament of Lords and Commons at *Westminster*, perceiving the Spanish Faction thus to play on both hands, and much fearing least (if the King should prevail) the Kingdome would be carried by the Spanish Factors

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to Popery; and forcing least the same subtile Faction; missing
their aims on the Kings side, should clap in with *Seſſarians* on
the other ſide, they reaſonably called in their Proteſtant Bre-
thren the Scots to their aid; with whom they entred into a ſo-
lemn Covenant, to defend the Proteſtant Religion againſt Po-
pery on one hand, and againſt *Seſſarians* and *Hereticks* on the o-
ther hand; and ſo defend the Kings perſon and Prerogative Roy-
all, with the priviledges of Parliament.

This Covenant was ſoon carried to Rome, and to the Spaniſh
Court; and throughout Europe; which was the great Infligator
of the Romiſh party throughout Europe; this cauſed the Pope,
not only directly to lay in his Politicians on the hereticall Secta-
rian party ſide, but (leaſt that ſhould not hold) to yeild all aſſi-
ſtance to the Kings party; and therefore did the Rebels in *Ire-
land*, who renounced their Allegiance to the King, yet ſubject
to the Popes command in a Collation; and many of them (to
the ſhame of the Kings cauſe) came over in perſon to aſſiſt the
King in his wars againſt the Parliament; this made Noble In-
teligence to ſuſpect the Kings Cauſe, and to forſake him; and
turn to the Parliament, and take the Covenant.

But to returne to *Cromwell*; he being Commander in chief
of the Earle of *Mancheſters* Horſe, after the Scots were entred the
Kingdome, the Earle of *Mancheſter* marched into the North,
to joync with them againſt the Earle of *Newcaſtles* great Ar-
my, who was exceedingly ſtrengthened by ſeven thouſand
Horſe, which Prince *Ruperts* brought down with him to that
battell.

Great were the Armies on both ſides; on the Parliament ſide
there were three Armies united in one, the Lord *Fairfaxes*,
the *Mancheſters*, and the Scots. The battell was fierce and great-
full; and the ſucceſſe for a long while wholly on the Kings ſide,
the battell on the Kings ſide went on ſucceſſfully to the Ge-
neralls Tents; ſo that they ſtood, giving the day for loſt; only the
Fairfaxes remained in the field; and Major Generall *Craſſers* a
gallant Scottiſh ſoldier with their own, and part of *Cromwells*
Horſe, cutted miraculoſly the ſucceſſe of the day on the
Parliaments ſide, to the utter routing of the Kings Army.

The gaining of this great victory was clapped on *Cromwells*
back,

back, though *Cressart*, (Lieutenant Officer of words) who were present there say) met him running away, and upbraided him with it openly, for which he could never induce him afterwards how write to *London* for one, when the Scottish Army spread it through the Kingdom, and it was reported in *Cardinal Lamb* that *Cromwell* and his men only got the victory.

The back of the Kings Forces being broke at this battell, struck terror to the Spanish Faction on the Kings side, but the Kings great success in the *West* against *Essex* encouraged them to try their utmost, yet were not the Protestants on the Kings side, without great jealousie of the treason of the Spanish Faction against the King; for so they wrought it, that the Noble Lord *Wilmot*, Lieutenant General of the Kings Horse, foreseeing the Kings ruine, if he did not timely close with the Parliament, before the Spanish Faction met on both sides, but for mentioning an Agreement, was on a suddain in the heat of his command arrested, and accused of Treason, and *Goring* one of Spanish Faction put into his command.

And before that time it was suspected then, when Prince *Rupert* was made General, only to keep the English Protestant Peers, from bearing sway in the Army, lest they should overpower the Spanish Faction.

After the defeat given to the Kings Forces in the *North* by the Parliaments Army, and after the defeat given to the Parliaments Forces in the *West* by the King, both Armies marched up towards *London*, the King to his great disadvantage came too late, for he staid at *Plymouth* with his Army to no purpose, untill Generall *Essex* armed and recruited his men, and was marched forth to encounter with the Kings Army which was coming out of the *West*.

There met the King at *Newbury*, the Northerne Army, Sir *William Wallers*, and Generall *Essex* his Army.

The Kings Army was in *Newbury*, and his Ammunition and Artillery were lodged in *Donnington Castle*.

Here all men concluded that the Kings Army was lost, and that they must compound, or perish by the Parliaments forces, but such was the juggling of the generall Officers in the Northerne Army, that they let the King go, and come without the least disturbance.

This was so notorious, that all men cryed out of the Northern Army, as treacherous to the Parliament.

Convinced to free himself from this just taxation, goes to the House, and there lays the Treason of letting the King go upon the Earle of *Manchester*, and hereupon takes occasion to tell the Parliament, that the war would never be at an end, so long as Members of either House were employed in Military Offices.

Now you must conceive, that this Politician was crept high in his thoughts, and could ken a way, through his own politique Treason to the Crown, though he had nothing in his mouth but self-deniall, and exalting Christ, and settling the peace of the Kingdome: he knew there was no way now for him to be Supreme, but by supplanting those that were his Superiours, and since he could not do it by power, he thought by his policy to remove them.

The strength of his policy lay in telling lies so cunningly, that he would almost inforce the hearer to beleve, and the end of his policy was to supplant the innocent, and all this under colour of advancing Christ, promoting the Gospell, and settling the Kingdome in a happy peace.

Under this pretence he (with his party ready to second him) makes a Speech in the House, and after many rethoricall flourishes, motions that which he knew all the House would like of; *viz.* that the Kingdome might be eased of it's heavy burthens under an oppressing war, proposeth the way by lessening the Officers, new modelling the Army, and putting it into such hands as would lose no opportunity against the enemy, and this would be the ready way.

This Politicians designe was to steal that power from the Parliament, which the Parliament had snatched from the King, and that was the *Miliria* of the Kingdome: now there was no way for such a mean fellow as *Cromwell* to get to so great a height, but by policy, and no policy better belitted such a mean person, but dissembling, for had there been at this time the least appearance in his designs, of his future rebellion, and aspiring intentions, all men (except the Spanish Faction) would have spet in the proud villains face, and have broke him and his faction out;

ous, hypocriticall party of Traytors, and Rebels in a thousand pieces.

He therefore pleads for nothing, but self-deniall, and the self-denying Ordinance, and pretends himself to be the most readiest and willingest to lay down all, for the settling the peace of the bleeding Kingdome.

Note. You must note, all this while the Kings Army was permitted to gather strength, and by this policlike mutiny and treachery, for it was nothing else of *Cromwell*, Generall *Essex* his Army lay still, and Sir *William Waller*, and the Earle of *Manchester*, whilest the King gathered a very great Army together, and took Castles and Garrisons from the Parliament, without any let.

How it came about, is too long here to tell, but the issue of this mutiny was this, all Parliament men were called home from the Army, which was that which this Politician looked for.

This was the sad Ordinance that blowed up both King, Lords, and Commons; and subjected their lives, and the interest of the Protestant Religion, and Laws of the three Kingdomes to the Spanish Factions mercy.

This Spanish broom swept off the Stage at once, more Noble, valiant, expert, and renowned Protestant souldiers, then ever were seen before in Armes for the true Religion. Hereby the Lord Generall *Essex* and his Colonells, *Dennis*, *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Merick*, Colonell *Sheffield*, Colonel *Graves*, and severall others were taken off or constrained upon their honor to lay down.

Hereby the Earle of *Manchester*, the Lord *Roberts*, and Sir *John Bamfield* were taken off.

Sir *William Brereton* likewise, with severall other Noble Nothermen gentlemen; likewise Sir *William Waller*, and Colonel *Masse*, with very many Noble gentlemen, and sincere Protestants, as Major Generall *Brown* and others, which would be too tedious to set down particularly.

These Noble Protestants being called home, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was chosen Generall of the Parliaments Army, and that self-denying-man *Cromwell* chosen his Lievtanant Generall, and Skippon Major Generall, *Ireton* his son Commissary Generall.

This

This being done, *Cromwell* forthwith sets to new modelling of the three Armies, which he had ingrossed under his command. He rid his hands of the gentry in *Essex's* Army, by proffering them Offices far below their Dignities, which he knew they would refuse.

As for others he turned them out, as vicious prophane men, either as swearers, drunkards, or Sabbath-breakers; so that hereby he brought in his own Officers to be the Commanders of these great Forces; and herein *Fairfax* all this while (though Generall) stood silent as a cypher, as merely a looker on, with approbation, trusting to his Lieutenant Generalls wisdom and honesty.

The Spanish Faction (I think I can prove what I say) on the Kings side knew of this new modelling, and named whom they intended for Generall, and Lieutenant Generall, before they were chosen by the Parliament; by which 'tis manifest, the Spanish Factions were agreed on both sides, and held correspondency at that time.

Here Time discovered who was the Traytor, in letting the King go at *Denington*; for had the Kings Army been broken, and the King taken, this Politician must have expected to have been disbanded with the rest of the Armies, and so his designe had been utterly frustrated: but now the King was prevailing in the field with a great and terrible Army, which made for this Politicians designes; for now *Cromwell* was no more the servant, but the Lord of the Parliament; for if the Parliament came not full up to his desires, he was able now to give the victory to the King. From this day did the Spanish Faction get and hold both ends of the staffe in their own hands, the sincere Protestants only had hold of the middle.

At this time the King had taken *Leicester*, and beaten the Parliaments Forces in severall parts of the Kingdome, and was now coming with a formidable Army up towards the associated Counties, which put the Parliament, and the City of *London* into great feare; this was well pleasing to *Cromwell*, who now was desirous to hasten towards the Kings Army, but not to fight them: The Army advanced towards the Kings hereupon, but before they would fight; *Cromwell* possesseth all the Officers that

that there was a clause in the Generalls Commission, which hindered them from fighting, and that was, *to have a care of the Kings Person*; now unlesse that were struck out, he said, he could not, nor would not fight. Hereupon the Officers under their hands, Petition the House for a new Commission to be sent them speedily, for the Kings Army, they said, was advancing towards them, and they expected them the next day, but they could not fight with the Kings Army, unlesse that clause were struck out, *of having a care of the Kings Person*; this plot was hatched before, and only waited for such an opportunity to accomplish it.

The Lord Say and his sons, and the *Vanes* of the Spanish Faction in the lower House, with severall other, had doubtlesse designed it before, but durst not mention it, least the Protestants in the house by smelling the design should cry out of it, and prevent it: but now, when the Parliaments neck lay on the block, that if they would not strike out the clause, they would not fight with the Kings Army, but let them in upon them, then was this presented, and all in halt, post halt.

The seeing Protestants in both Houses, seeing their Armies disbanded, and their faithfull servants, (who during the hear of the Civill war, had not once shrunk from them) disbanded, and the Army their whole strength in the field: Now, when it came to the pinch, refuse to fight, unlesse the Parliament would gratifie their most unlawfull desires quickly (though too late) cry'd out of Treason, and that was the policy of the Spanish Faction in the House, to palliate the businesse, declare the necessity, and set forth the present danger, that the major part of the House voted the clause to be struck out of the Commission.

Herein the Parliament gave away their power to their servants, and also declared to all the world, that they owed no Allegiance to the Kings person, and that the Covenant which they took solemnly, they did not intend to keep. Hereupon those Noble quirk-sighted Protestants, whose hearts were upright, and whose intentions were Loyall, and no way byassed with by-ends, forsook the Army. When the Earle of *Essex* heard of this Commission, he said to one of his friends, we Protestants now shall be the only Malignants: he observed the Spanish Faction

Faction at that time in both Houses grew so insolent.

Well, this Commission was sent for in all haste, and Post upon Post from the Army, seconding and following each other, were sent for to have it quickly; for the King came upon them; in haste therefore the Parliament voted it, and in haste they sent it.

No sooner was this Commission come down to the Army, but forthwith the Army (though the lesse number by far) marched confidently (as if the victory had been bespoken long before) against the great Army of the Kings.

The King, nor the Loyall-hearted Protestants with him, could not believe that the Parliament Army durst meet him in the field, untill he saw them; nor did any souldiers believe it, but those that knew how secret designs, and plots, were carried betwixt the Spanish Faction on both sides, to give the victory to him who had stript himself, and all under his command, of all Allegiance to supreme Authority, by striking out that clause concerning the protection of the Kings person; never had any man Commission granted him to kill the King before; all the Parliament souldiers before, both by Covenant, and by Commission, were engaged to be the Kings Subjects; but this Politician had power, if he pleased, to kill, wound, imprison the King, treat with him, or what he pleased; this the Spanish Faction long looked for, and now being obtained, they shewed themselves more visible and apparent in their actions every day.

The battel at *Naseby* was fought, where (say the Kings party) there was as manifest treachery discovered, as in any battel, by those of the Spanish Faction, and that was in two things: 1. In that *Goring*, of that Faction, who was Lieutenant Generall of the Kings Horse, came not in to the Kings aid, though often sent for by the King: and 2. 'tis supposed those treacherous great Commanders of the Spanish Faction in that Army, had given signalls to the other party of the Parliament, where they should meet with friends of the same design, to give the victory unto *Cromwell*.

This victory was both given and taken in haste, for fear least the Scots Army should have come in for a share, which neither party would permit; and therefore after this unexpected victory

ry (or rather open treachery) the new modell'd Army was cryed up for the only Army, the Saints Triumphant; they that the Kingdom groaned for to be it's deliverer, & that this victory was the signall that God was well pleased with, striking out that clause, of *having a care of the Kings Person*; and the Scots Army were cryed out on as cowards, and uselesse men in the Kingdome.

Now began the gifted Brethren from this day forward; to appear more visibly in the Army, and to exercise their gift: Now these Spanish Seminaries began first to cry up Liberty of Conscience, and under this notion, to cry down Magistracy as Antichristian; and Ministry as Antichristian, taking of Oaths Antichristian, constraining men to go to the publike worship of God Antichristian; and then they cryed up Independency of Congregations, and separation from the Church of *England*; most absolutely necessary for every Saint, as they desired to be freed from the yoke of *Babylon*, these pretences (however they deceived children and fools) of Saintship; and throwing down Antichrist, every wise man saw was but a meer trick of the Spanish Faction; thereby to get elbow room enough for a Jesuit; without wounding of his conscience, if he have any, to seat himself in any Office of the Kingdome, either Civil or Military.

From this day the Covenant began to be neglected in the Army, and this tender conscienced man durst not take it, and that Saint durst not subscribe it; and so by little and little at this door, got into the Army some of the greatest Popish Incendiaries in *Europe*; but be they what they will, they were all canonized Saints in *Cromwells* Calender, and he accounted a most rigid, unchristianisy; bowellesse, uncharitable, bitter-spirited man, one as yet in the dark, wanting spirituall light; not acquainted with the work of grace, nor the high attainments of Saints that did but question their faintship.

As the Spanish Faction (for so I call the Independent party on the Parliaments side) grew prosperous in success, so the Spanish Faction on the Kings side grew more openly treacherous, mostly upon design to put the victory into their own Fa-

Stions hands on the Parliament side, for they feared the Scot and the Presbyterian party, and therefore would hold them stoutly to it in any fight or siege; but to the Independent party they would quickly and easily yeeld.

This was manifest at *Bristow*, where the King had both true Subjects and Traytors to him. Now it is conceived, before the great onset when *Bristow* was last taken, that the Spanish Faction had so cunningly on both sides contrived it, that the Presbyterian party on the Parliament side, were set to oppose the Loyal, sincere hearted, Protestant Commanders on the Kings side, on purpose to destroy each other, where there were exceeding hot conflicts, with great losse, and little gain to either, whilst other guards were taken with much ease, and exceeding little losse, to the admiration of all men; many of the Kings party ever after that base surrender, suspected Prince *Rupert* to be one of the Spanish Faction, who had his lesson taught him by that Faction, when he was prisoner to the Emperor, from whom he came to take up Arms in *England*.

After the surrender of *Bristow*, the Spanish Faction held the reins of the Kings Power in their hands, for *Goring* with seven thousand Horse in the *West*, as he never advanced before to help the King, so afterwards he never made a charge against the Parliament Forces; but as a man conscious of his own guilt and treachery, imbarqued himself at *Dartmouth*, and went into *Spain*, where he had a brave command bestowed on him; and this thought money sent from the Spanish Faction on the Parliament side to their Agents there, to supply him, however was pretended that the King of *Spain* lent him that great sum of money, which he received,

Some think it was the wages of his treachery in *England*, which for the more assurance of it, he desired should be paid to him beyond Seas: But I forbear to tell secret tales, wherein I have not open proofs to confirm the truth: let this suffice to tell at this time: that he, with those English Gentry with him, were presently entertained in his service, and intrusted with high commands.

Cromwell having now broken the heart of the Kings party, began

began to consider of those mountains that lay in his way, to his desired ends on the Parliament side.

Now there he had to encounter with the major part of the two Houses, with the assembly of Divines, with the Scots Army, Major Generall *Massie's* Brigade, and with the City of London; all these for the most part being *Presbyterians*, and he knew for certain all of them profest enemies to his designs, had they at that time known them, which made the Politician so wary, that he never divulged his design til 'twas past preventing, and after he had accomplished it, he gilded it over with some fine pretence, lest it should prevent his future plots.

Thus therefore did this Politician proceed by politique mediums, to the accomplishing of his treacherous designs.

1. He used all meanes to increase his party in the House, by new Elections, whom he and his party chose, and sent to the House.

2. He won by flattery many of the weaker sort of the House of Commons, whose purblind eyes took all for gold, which he made to glisten.

Others he won by promises, and some afterwards he made of his party by threats, as we shall declare anon.

As for the Forces in the field on the Parliaments side against him, they were the Scots Army, *Massie's* Brigade, and many Garrisons, *Massie's* Brigade being headlesse, in regard he was called to the House, *Cromwell* made good use of, for he made them the blind for his owne Army, putting them alwaies betwixt him and the enemy; and oft times assigning them no quarters, but what the enemy lay in, so that they must fight, before either they, or their horses could eat or sleep; this was intended for the ruine of them, for they had no pay for at least halfe a yeare, so that those cowards who loved ease and pay, got off from their Captains, and lifted themselves under *Cromwell's* Officers, which was that he looked for; but these State-games were too weak to break that Brigade; so that they were enforced by slan-

dering of them; and inforcing them to be burthenfome (for want of pay) to the countrey, to get an order from the House, and with fix weeks pay, or thereabout to disband them, as afterwards.

As for the Garrisons, he alwaies put in his own party to command them, as he took them, when the Kings Army was disbanded in *Cornwall*, he received (on my knowledge) those that would list themselves in his service, and when it was complained of in my hearing, he professed that it was contrary to his knowledge and order, notwithstanding there was the greatest part of three troops of Cavaliers listed by his son *Iretou*, at that time in his service: as for those Garrisons where the Presbyterians were, he caused hunger and beggery to eat them out.

Having cleared the Kingdome of the Kings Field-forces, and having taken all the Garrisons considerable in the *West*, this Politician made all halt towards the King, whose person could he have taken, he would have made exceeding great advantages of, and he had now a fair opportunity: with unexpected swiftnesse therefore did he march up with the Army to *Oxford*, of whose coming the King had timely notice.

The King perceiving that the designe of the Independents was to take his person, and considering how that clause was left out of their Commission, *to have a care of his Person*, he thought it not safe, either to cast himselfe upon them for protection, who could answer him, than they had no Commission so to do; he knew they that struck out that clause out of the Commission, wanted not malice, but opportunity to mischief his person: to prevent which, he resolved to remove from thence, but whither he knew not: to his friends he could not, for they that were his reall friends were suppressed, and they that were his pretended friends, had treacherously forsaken him, and were gone; so that now he consulted upon which of his enemies to cast himself, for so he took them both, *viz.* the two Houses at *Westminster*, and the Scots Army; as for the Independent Army, he knew they were

were his professed enemies, and so did all the Protestants plainly see it. For (through the instigation of *Hugh Peters*, *Larkin*, and *Dell*, the three Chaplains in the Army) the Army was enraged against the person of the King, and against the Presbyterian Government and Ministry, as against that last limb of Antichrist, which must be removed, and then the Kingdome should be the Saints, *i.e.* the Armies, and not only this Kingdome, but the three Kingdomes should be theirs, and to give a secret hint thereof to the Officers of the Army, what should be their reward hereafter,

There were medalls of gold in value, just fifteen shillings, not a farthing more nor lesse, which we call three Crownes, to tell to them that they had merited their Crownes, and hereafter should enjoy them, when they had cut off the King and Parliament.

To this time did all the Independents sing, yea, I am informed, that *Thomas Goodwin* preached this Doctrine, that the Saints must never look to see the Kingdome of Christ flourish, untill Monarchy be thrown downe and destroyed. Here's a fine Doctrine to be broached by such a man as *Thomas Goodwin*: Judge (Reader) if in the sequell, the most gilded Independents do not appear openly to be Antichristian Romish traitors, and of the Spanish Faction; be confident of this, that Independency was an engine of the conclave of *Rome* framing, meely to breed divisions amongst the Protestants, to their ruine.

This was the device of the Spanish Faction, by their Emisseries in *Holland*, thinking thereby to have bred divisions amongst the United Provinces, when they could not overthrow them by warre. For this end, 'tis believed *Hugh Peters* (whom *Mr. Bailly* proves to be the first that set up Independency in *Holland*, or any where else) was hired, being a subtile-pated-fellow, by the Spanish Faction to breed distractions and divisions in those Churches, that thereupon (as upon *England* this day) the Spaniard might take his advantages, neither is it thought otherwise but that those dissenters which forsook *England* to go into *Holland*, went thither, or returned thither again with any other design:

design: That they returned from *Holland* hither into *England*, merely to disturb and overthrow the Government of *Calvin*, is as manifest as the Sun, who did oppose it, but they?

When the Presbyterians had drove them from shift to shift in, at last they put them to this, to declare what they would have, after they had taken at least a years time (in hopes by that time, to have brought sword-arguments to have stoppt the Presbyterians mouths) at last they in assent declared thus much, that they knew not what they would have; yea Mr. *Nis* that Romish Spanish Fox told Mr. *Coleman*, that 'twas no policy to declare, for after they had declared, all the Sectarians which liked not their Government, would fly from them, and so they should be left a poor naked company: Judge by this, who have been the trayterous shepheards in the Church of Christ, whether the Presbyterians that declared their Government, and desired to settle it to prevent heresie? Or they that refused to declare merely for fear, least heretikes and blasphemers should foresee them?

Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*, that sincere holy-man, perceiving their Jesuiticall knavery, and fearing the ill consequents of not declaring, resolved for his part to declare: had this been done, doubtlesse it had given a fearfull blow to the Spanish Faction in the Assembly, as well as in the Parliament (for the Spanish Faction had a finger in every Councell) but whether God as a Judgement on the Church of *England* took him away, or the Spanish Faction to prevent him, poysoned him, I cannot tel; but on a suddain (to the grief of all the Presbyterians, he was taken away.

I have made this excursion, only to shew how cunningly at this time the Spanish Faction in Church and State played their part, to overthrow the King, the ancient Civill Government, and the Ecclesiasticall Government, by setting up Independency against both: but to return to the King that famousst and most renownedst Monarch in the world, who when he was at *Yvesmaister*, could command three Kingdomes, and all the people in them, is now in such distresse, through the treachery of the Spanish Faction, who first divided him from his Parliament, and

now

now in his distresse desested him, and set themselves against him, having brought the King, they thought, into the Independents hands, which was the net the Spanish Faction desired to have him in, that he knows not whither to go, or on whom to cast himself for the safeguard of his person; whilst he was thus consulting with his Councell, some gave consent to cast himself upon the Parliament, others to cast himself upon the Scots Army.

The King was put to that *Dilemma*, that the one or the other he must do, and that speedily, for the Army that he knew would murder him was come almost upon him; the King therefore considering, how that the Scots had taken the Covenant, to defend his person, cast himself upon them, who according to their duty protected him.

This news was welcome news to the Covenanters, but exceeding cross to the Independents, insomuch that they brake out into open rage against the Scots, and the King, crying out, that there was treachery, and that the Scots had agreed and combined with the King, but they quickly washed themselves clean from those aspersions.

Both the Houses at *Westminster* at this time, were full of sincere Covenant-keeping Protestants, who were in hopes hereby to establish Church Government, and to settle Civill Government on it's old Basis.

The Independent Army under *Cromwell* (for *Fairfax* was merely titular, except in a fight) found themselves some petty employment, in taking Castles and petty Garrisons, but they listed every day those souldiers that would be imployed, as if they intended to fight the Scots, if the Spanish Faction in the Houses began to stir to the purpose, both Sir *Henry Vane Senior* and *Junior*, *Henry Martin*.

The *Fines*, and severall other, pleaded stoutly for the delivery of the person of the King by the Scots to the Parliament, but all in vain for the present.

The Parliament at Westminster being unwilling to lose any opportunity for the settling of the Church and State in peace and truth; sent Commissioners with Propositions to treat with the King, they were nineteen in all, the sum whereof I have here inserted, by which the world may judge, whether the Parliament at that time were not reasonable in their demands.

1. **T**hat his Majesty passe an Act for nulling all Oaths, Declarations, Proclamations, Indulgences, Attainders, and Judgements against the two Houses, or any of their Officers.
2. That his Majesty assent to the Covenant, and injoyne it to be taken in the three Kingdomes.
3. That an Act be passed for abolishing Bishops, and that Hierarchy.
4. To confirm the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines.
5. That the Reformation of Religion be sealed, as both Houses (after consultation with the Assembly of Divines) shall agree.
6. That what the Houses, the Kirk of Scotland, and the Assembly of Divines shall agree of in matter of Religion, may be confirmed by Act of Parliament.
7. That an Oath of abjuration be administered to Jesuits, wherein they shall abjure the Popes Supremacy, &c. and that the Oath refused to be taken, shall be sufficient conviction.
8. That Papists children be educated in the Protestant Religion.
9. That a true Levy of the Penalties on Recusants, by an Act be confirmed.
10. That the Laws may be duly executed upon the Papists, and Masse prevented.
11. The like for Scotland.

12. For

12. For the keeping of the Lords day more strictly.
13. That the Militia of *England* be put for 20. years into the Parliaments hands.
14. That all Peers since the departure of the great Seal, be made incapable of sitting in Parliament.
15. An Act for the confirmation of the Treaty betwixt *England* and *Scotland*.
16. That the Declarations of both Kingdoms, in 43. and 44. be by Act confirmed, with these Qualifications.

1. *Qualif.* That these persons shall expect no pardon; P. *Rupert*, *Maurice*, E. *Derby*, E. *Bristol*, E. *New-Castle*, L. *Cottingham*, L. *George Digby*, Bishop *Wren*, Bishop *Bromhall*, *George Goring*, *Endymion Porter*, Sir *Richard Greenwill*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, Sir *John Culpepper*, Sir *Francis Windchank*, Marquess of *Huntsly*, Earl of *Montross*, &c.

2. *Qualif.* All Papists actually in Arms against the Parliament; as Marquess *Vinton*, E. *Forcester*, Sir *Francis Howard*, Sir *John Winter*, &c. to be exempted from pardon.

There are many more qualifications, too long here to insert. Let this be sufficient, to declare to all the world the integrity of the Parliament at that time, in endeavouring to establish the Protestant Laws and Religion against the Spanish Popish Faction.

Had the King closed at this time with the Parliament, the neck of the Spanish Faction had been broken on both sides, the Independent Army had been disbanded, and no door open for usurpers.

The news of the King's being with the *Scottish Army*, of his conferring with the *Scottish Ministers* of the Parliaments treating with him upon those Propositions, and how far he had concided to those Propositions; as to the extirpation of Popery, out of the three Kingdoms; &c. it was carried through Europe, and the *Spanish Faction* soon conveyed it to the *Emperours Court*, to the *Spanish Court*, and to *Rome*, where Sir *Kenelm Digby* bestowed him at the *Popes Court* in the behalf of the *Catholicks* in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*. They concluded, that if the King complied and made a firm agreement with his Parliament, *Scotland*, *England*, and half *Ireland* would unanimously be his, and the *Catholick* cause would not only be extirpated in *England*, but the whole power of *England* and *Scotland* would be upon *Ireland*, and ruine the *Catholicks* there.

Hereupon a *Nuncio* from the *Pope* was sent into *Ireland*, commanding the *Catholicks* to renounce their allegiance to the King of *England*, here the *Spanish Faction* began to play above board; this was the first open act wherein the *Spanish Faction* shewed their open hostility against the King; for though they had the same malice, yet they always pretended to promote the Kings honor, and do nothing against; but in obedience to him. But now being with the *Scots* they thought their interest was totally lost in his person, and therefore now openly shewed what heretofore they secretly intended.

When the *Pope* and the *Spanish Faction* were too quick, which exposed their designs to the open view of *Protestant Statesmen*, who at that time by that act knew which way the *Pope*, and the *Spanish Faction* would play their game. For hereby was there a door of *Amity* and *Concord* opened for the Independent Army in *England*, and the Rebels in *Ireland* to join, which was not so far off, they saw that presently perceived, but soon after, it was by the effects manifest, that there the *Spanish*

nish

Spanish Faction were agreed to overthrow the Royal Family of England, and how necessary to view and consider this

This accursed conspiracy being secretly knit by the Spanish Faction betwixt the English Independent, and the deepest dyed Rebels of Ireland; they now in England pretend (yet very cunningly) to act that against the person of the King, which the Irish Rebels by the Popes command had acted against the power of the King, therefore so soon as Massies Brigade was disbanded, the Western Garrisons put into their hands, and the Garrisons in Wales reduced, and there was little to do in the field; Cromwell, and Ireton, and their party in the House sate close, not only in the House, but had often private meetings about Westminster, and London, for the carrying on of their designs.

The Kings party being totally suppressed, the field forces being modelled to this Independent Politician, y Cromwell's mind, and Oxford, Pendennis, Exon, Plymouth, Gloucester, and Windsor; with the rest of the strong holds, being in confiding mens hands, the immediate suspension of the next thing in order to the Spanish design, was to remove the Scots Army out of England, and to get the person of the King into their custody.

This was by the Spanish Faction moved in the house.

That considering the uselessness of the Scots Army, and the great burthen and charge they were to the Kingdome, they might be removed out of the Kingdome, and that they ought to deliver up the person of the King to the Parliament of England, they being but hirelings servants of the Parliament, and having only interest in the person of the King, as he was King of Scotland, not King of England: but it was concluded, in regard of the mutuall tye betwixt the Kingdomes, that the Kings

person should be with the Parliament, and that nothing should passe by way of agreement with the King, without the joynt consent of the estates of the Kingdome of Scotland.

Hereupon the Parliament agreed with the Scots for one third part of their pay due to them, to surrender *Newcastle, Berwick*, and other Garrisons, and to depart the Kingdome, and give up the King into the hands of the Parliament Commissioners.

All which was done, and the King was brought to *Holdenby House* in *Northampton-shire*; this being accomplished, now the Spanish Faction set regularly to work, and that they might do nothing preposterously, their next design was to root out, and supplant those that were true subjects to the King in *Ireland*, *Ormond* they bought out of *Dublin*, where presently the Independents took footing.

And that the Covenanter party in *Ireland* might be removed, and so the Spanish Factions in *England* and *Ireland* might shake hands (I mean the Arch Irish Rebels, and the Independents) The Lord *Lisle* (whose Ancestors were great friends to the Spanish Court) and Sir *Hardress Waller* were by the vote of that party, which the Spanish Faction had made in the Houses, voted to take the generall command of *Ireland*, and had liberty to oust the Lord *Inchiquin* and his generall Officers under the same pretence of new modelling the Forces there.

The Lord *Inchiquin* understanding something of the designe, but more of the injury done to him, and his Officers, refused to resign up his command, and hereupon sent to the Houses, to informe them of the true State of things, who being at that time a full and a free House, called off the Lord *Lisle*, and Sir *Hardress Waller*.

The

The frustrating of this designe of the Spanish Factions, enraged them extremely, and the rather, because the design was hereby in part discovered, for there were those Noble and sage gentlemen, as Sir *John Clotworthy*, and severall others, who did not spare to speak it openly, that there was Treason hatching against the Protestants in the three Kingdomes, and they (had not the Spanish Faction by force suppressed them) would have charged severall persons with High Treason.

Ever after was the Lord *Inchequin* and his party looked on by the Independent Army in *England*, with an evill eye, they kept all supplies from going to him, and though God gave that Noble Lord extraordinary good successe, yet that made him but the more odious here in *England*, which argued the exceeding prevalency of the Spanish Faction at *Westminster* at this time.

The Lord *Inchequins* prospering beyond expectation, whilst he kept his Covenant, so enraged the Spanish plotters, that they then devised this stratagem to overthrow him.

They contrived it thus,

That Colonel *Jones*, and those of the Independent party with him, at and about *Dublin*, should make a Cessation with those Rebels in *Ireland*, who acknowledged not the King of *Englands* Supremacy, but by the Popes command had cast it off: with these was Colonel *Jones* to make a Cessation, that so those Rebels might go forth against the Lord *Taffe* and *Inchequin*. Now you must know that the Lord *Taffe* was against *Inchequin*, and against *Preston Roe Oneale*: and against *Inchequin*, because for the Parliament against the Catholike priviledges of *Ireland*, and against *Roe Oneale*, because for the Pope against

gainst the King as his Liege Sovereign, which the Lord *Taff* refusing, was by the Popes *Nuncio* excommunicated. Now that *Rac Oweal* might bend all his forces to overthrow the Lord *Taff*, and afterwards with great facility overthrow *Inchiquen*. The quick-fighted *Inchiquen* perceiving the design, in policy to prevent them, told them he would play a fore-hand game with them, by making a Cessation with the Lord *Taff*, and this was the true ground of that which they called Faction. The Lord *Inchiquen* revolting from the Parliament, the Cessation was to be made betwixt *James* and them, which in truth was rather a shunning of any compliance with the Spanish Popish prevailing Faction, in the Parliament of *England*.

The Spanish Faction finding that design prevented by *Inchiquen*, were exceedingly enraged against those Papists who joyned with *Inchiquen*, as the Lord *Taff*, and another Bishop which *Cromwel* afterwards hanged; but they concealed their design, though not their malice; and bended the strength of their policies to effect that on the Kings person, which they had done against his Sovereign power in *Ireland*, for they knew there was no way to bring about their designs but by cutting off the the King, for hereby the *Scots* interest in *England* would be destroyed, and their present fears of the Parliament and *Scots* treaking and agreeing with the King, would be totally prevented.

It was not so much the cutting off of the King, as the self-interest of that Spanish Independent Faction thereby, which was intended; for it was an easy thing for them to have murdered the King at any time, being all armed men; but the advantage that would redound to them was dubious, and therefore the master-piece of *James* art was herein exercised, and that was

chiefly

chiefly in cheating all parties, to promote their design. They courted the Kings party with fair promises. They cheated the weaker sort of Presbyterians to a good conceit of their aims, not of their actions; for which their *moderation* was contrary to Gods Law, mans Law, and natures Law; yet would these brazen faced Hypocrites there swear and protest, that their ends were for Gods glory, the Churches good, and the Kingdoms peace, and multitudes of fools believed them.

But to give a more particular relation of the transactions of State-affairs at this time by that party.

The Independent politician *Cromwell* having little else to do at this time, thought his best place of advantage for his designs was to be a close sifter in the Parliament House; thither therefore with his party of Sword-men (whom he had sugled into the House as Members) did he repair, and there did they exactly count their friends and foes; they heard all the motions made, saw the votes, heard all parties speak, observed their State-reasons; saw every mans temper, and hereby knew who were their greatest opposites; and where their greatest strength lay, and hereby learned how to time their actions, with what cloak to palliate their designs, and how to proceed or go retrograde in this or that design.

The sage and sincere Protestants of either House sitting freely at this time, (though not free, but full of jealousies and fears of the Popish party, whom they saw counter-working their endeavours) pressed earnestly for a speedy settlement in Church and State, which had it been accomplished, the Independent design had been utterly frustrate.

And therefore now began the great contest betwixt the Presbyterian Protestant Covenanters, and the Independent Popish Engineers. And herein lay the policy of *Cromwell*, that he personally appeared in none of these things against the Protestants

tants at this time, but altogether by his agents; whom he
 entertained with all encouragements for that purpose. And
 hence it came about, that whatsoever Voice in the House passed
 concerning the settling of the Presbyterian government, or sup-
 pressing the Sectarians; the men designed by *Cromwel* in the
 Army had forthwith notice from *Cromwel*, or his party in the
 House, to teach the Army the contrary; these were called
 gifted brethren, several of which were sent from the Jesuites
 Colledges in *Spain*, and in *Portugal*, and other parts where
 there are *English* Societies. I heard a Gentleman well acquainted
 with forreign Countreies, and those Societies, say, that there
 were at this time scarce any of the *English* Jesuites at their own
 Colledges beyond-Seas, but on his knowledg allured; and invi-
 ted (which they need not) into *England*; and another *Span-
 ish* Merchant told me (and he had it from the mouth of a
Spanish Priest in *Spain* who loved him well) that the cunningest
 and ablest States-men in *Spain* were at that time (which was
 about 1646.) designed for *England*, though they were first
 to land in *Ireland*; and (said the Priest to him) think not
 that your peace in *England* is now sealed, since the Parlia-
 ment hath overcome the King; for now *Englands* greatest
 Warre and misery is to begin: and for that end (said he) there
 are those sent hence that will turn it upside down: this was
 near five years since, that he related this and much more
 to me: which falling out afterwards so exactly, according to
 the *Spanish* Priests guess, made me here insert it, to let the Reader
 know the *Spanish* Court, and the *Romish* Court have had the
 greatest hand in the present miseries of the Kingdom of *Eng-
 land*; hence it came to pass, that as the Parliament voted the
 settlement of the Presbyterian government, the gifted brethren
 preached it down both in the Army, City, and Country.
 The Parliament voted none to preach, but those in Or-
 ders.

They in the Army cryed up *Officer Breberton*, and orders *Anti-christian*, and the Ministry of *England* to be shunned as *Anti-christian*. This Parliament voted against *Heretics*; and those in the Army, City, and Countrey, cryed up a colleration, and liberty for *Double Conscience*. The Parliament voted the keeping of the *Lords day*. And they preached in the Army, for keeping of all dayes alike.

The Parliament resolved, the Summer coming on, (*An. 1642*) to relieve *Ireland*. And the *Jesuites* in the Army, and the *Popish Priests* preached, That 'twas unlawfull to go to war with the *Irish*, muchly for their *Consciences*. And that the Parliaments war with *Ireland*, was for nothing else. And they held it unlawfull to fight for Religion. And whereas it was reported, That the Parliament would proesse men for that Service, They cryed out of it, as against the Liberty of the Subject, and the Priviledge of a Christian, to be pressed to any War, against their *Conscience*. And thus the Parliaments *Designes*, and *Intentions* were opposed both in the Army, City, and Countrey, by this Politicians Agents; the which, when the wisest sort of Protestants in the House perceived, and in it the *Popish Designe*, thereby to overthrow both King and Parliament by the corrupting of the Army, and filling their minds full of enmity against the Parliament, they made it openly known to the House, and complained of it, that there were those admitted into the Army, who had not taken the *Covenant*; but despised it, and those that kept it.

To palliate which enormities, either *Cromwell*, or *Ireton*, or some of that Faction, would presently reply, putting themselves, and their words into the most Religious posture that might be, Protesting, That these worthy Gentlemen, thus last spoke, were bitter Spirituall, and too conscious, contrary to the Rules of Charity and Christian bowells. For these men that did not take the *Covenant*, were most precious Saines, and did it only out of the tenderness of *Conscience*; being fearfull of any Oaths. And as for any *Designe* of Rebellion against the Parliament, oh! with eyes lifted up, and his hand smiting on his breast, *Cromwell* would engage for them, That 'twas farr from their hearts. And hee would purre his Sout, that they should lay their *Swords* under the

Parliament's feet wherefore they would command them. These fair words turn'd the scales of jealousie with many shallow heads; and made them, whereas before suspicious, now confident of *Cromwell's* fidelity, to which his pollicie knew how to add weight; but the old Birds *Cromwell* could not catch with such chaff; and therefore take advantage from *Cromwell's* words, and flourishes, since the Army he would warrant, upon his soul, should be obedient to the Parliament. They desired to try their obedience, by sending one part into *Ireland* for the relief of the Protestants there; and to keep a comperent number of Souldiers here in *England*, under the command of Generall *Fairfax*. And for this end, they sent down Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell*, and Commissary *Ireton*, to acquaint the Army with the Houses Resolves, desiring them to incourage the Army in the Service of *Ireland*, which they promised to doe; but they (knowing how much this tended to the ruine of their Designe, contrary to their trust and promise) at a Rendezvous, (where they consulted with the Adjutors) at *Walden* in *Essex*, declared to the Souldiers, what *cruell* *unmercifull*, and *unjust* Masters the Parliament were to them, who had done them such excellent service; and it griev'd their Soules to see such deserving men as they were so shamefully and ingracefully dealt withall.

To this purpose likewise said *Ireton*, whose subtilt plots were so guided by fair pretences, that (like his face) no man would have imagined but that they had been Sherpish, no heart at all in them: He advised the Adjutors, not to disband, untill such time as the Army were satisfied for their Service. Yea, saith *Cromwell* at the same time to the Army; You have a double interest as you are Souldiers to the State, and as you are Commoners of the Kingdom: your interest as Souldiers should rather confirm, then confound your interest as Commoners. And thus did he engage the Army to himselfe, as their only friend; and engage the Army against the Parliament as their greatest enemy: And though the Parliament proffered them six times more, at their disbanding, then *Massy's* Souldiers; yet when they had their Monyes, and satisfaction as Souldiers; then *Cromwell* had taught them not to disband, because they were Commoners; and they would see the Parliament doe Justice, as they were Commoners, before they

they would disband; so that when the Commissioners of Parliament came to acquaint the Army, how far they had proceeded to the satisfying of the desires of the Army; which Demands, you must note, *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had drawn up, as most unreasonable and unjust, on purpose to inrage the Parliament against the Army; and so refuse to grant the Army's Demands, that thereby the Army might be the more inraged against them.

Cromwell and *Ireton*, knowing that the Parliament would send down able, discrete and powerfull men to the Army, to acquaint them how far the Parliament had granted their demands, lest it should take with the Army, *Cromwell* and *Ireton* gave counsell to the Agitators (who were Spanish Priests, and Romish factors, the most of them) that they should speak to the Army; and to every Regiment in the Army, That so soone as they saw the Parliaments Commissioners, they should all cry *Justice*, *Justice*, *Justice*; and neither heare them speake, nor speak to them in any other language, which they did; so that the Commissioners from the Parliament were not regarded, but hooted at as Owles.

The Commissioners returning to *Westminster*, acquainted the House with the Armies desperate Mutinie: the Houses now (too late) perceived that the liberties of the Kingdom, and the Protestant Religion, were betrayed into the hands of an hypocritical Rogue, and hereupon some Members of the House questioned *Cromwell* (then sitting) as the grand Conspirator in this Treason: *Cromwell*, that he might shut the eyes of those dull-pates (who saw no Designe because they felt none) and that he might now get cleere out of the Parliaments hands (for he had sate to the last day, on purpose to know the Designes of the Presbyterians; that so he might Counter-work and overthrow them) he riseth up in the House, and with his eyes lifted up to Heaven, and his hand on his heart said, *That he spake there as in the presence of God, that he knew nothing of the Designes of the Army, neither did he believe they had any, but would undertake they should disband whensoever the Parliament would command them.* Notwithstanding this solemn Protestation of *Cromwell's*, he had certain daies before ordered his Substitutes, the Agita-

roes, to secure the Cannon and Magazine in Oxford, and ordered Cornet Jeyes after this to march to Fiddisley, and there, with a strong party of Horse, to secure the Kings person, or remove him, if they saw fit. For this end Col. Charles Flinwood of horse was present, when Cornet Jeyes in Drury-lane (where Cromwell then lodged) received his Orders for to great a Command, which was more befitting a Collorell then a Cornet. The news was brought quickly to London, that the Army had seized on the King; that same night, or the next morning, the sword-men (Members of the House) and Cromwell went away to the Army.

The Covenanters seeing themselves thus abused by the shamefull and open Rebellion of their hyred-servants, voted high against their treasonable Practises, in daring violently to search away the Person of the King from the Commissioners of the Parliament. The Presbyterian Ministers, such as that worthy and heroic Spirit, Master Edwards (who was enforced to flee beyond Sea, from this Sectarian Armes violence) M. Calamy, M. Cuse, M. Jenkins, M. Love, Dr. Drake, M. Jackson, M. Havell and M. Watson, M. Robinson, and all the Presbyterians unanimously declared against the treasonable practises of the Army; Declaring that the end of their siding with the Parliament was to bring home the King to the Throne, and to establish such a Peace as might stand with Righteousness; had they preached or stirred up People against the King, they had preached against the Covenant, which they solemnly engaged to keepe all the dayes of their life. This Covenant they pressed very frequently at this time.

And now, on the other side in this juncture of time did the Independent Sectarian, and Jesuiticall pulpit-men begin to declare the glorious things that the Saints should doe, i. e. that the Army should doe; They should throw down Antichrist, and the Kingdom should be their possession. The last ray of Antichrist (said Delt the Independent) is the Presbytery, down therefore with that and all; down, then all the work is done, Yea (saith Thomas Goodwin) pull down Monarchy, and then, and not till then will the Kingdom of Christ (i. e. Independency) prosper and flourish: And to the same tune did Nis and Simpson and Bridge, and

and severall others of that Independent gang sing : so that let all the world Judge whether the Independants who took the Covenant and broke it ; or the Presbyterians who took the Covenant and still stuck to it. Let that generation of Lyers , who in these times audaciously affirm that the Presbyterians brought the Kings head to the block (in the Actings of the Presbyterians of this time) see themselves confuted. May we not say the Cavalier Party brought the Kings head to the Block? for had not *Alberrham, Leg.* and Doctor *Hamman* perswaded the King to goe the Isle of *Wight*, he had never been (as he was) irrecoverably locked up, under the Independent power, the which Doctor *Hamman* perceiving threw himself at the Kings feet, and craved his Majesties pardon, as being the instrument of perswading him to goe thither : But I love not retorting : to return therefore to the History where we left off.

The K. being violently seized on, by *Joyes* without the knowledge or order of the Houses, or the Generall of the Army, and carryed (by a secret order from *Cromwell*) to *New-Market*, into the midst of the Army, from hopes of comming to his Parliament : Now *Cromwell* had what he would desire ; for now there could be no Treaty with the King, nor agreement, but what should be with his good liking.

The news of snatching of the Kings person from the Parliament, and carrying him into the Army, made the hearts of the faithfull Protestants in the Kingdom to quash ; especially they that saw the Court of *Spain*, and the Conclave of *Rome* in the business.

The faithfull Covenanters of both Houses of Parliament, were out of measure troubled at this piece of open Treason, which grieved them so much the more, by reason they knew not how to remedy it ; However they did their utmost. Hearing then that the King was at *New-Market*, The Parliament made their addresses to him, beseeching him, that in order to his personal safety, and their addresses to him, for a speedy settlement, he would be pleased to come to *Richmond*. The King being glad of such an opportunity, resolved, since his two Houses had desired him to come so neer them, to goe to *Richmond*, where he was resolved to have entered, and concluded a Treaty of Agreement and Amity

mity between him and his two Houses of Parliament; but *Cromwell*, fearing nothing more then that, gave secretly, strict order to the Officers, to watch and guard the King very narrowly, and not to suffer him to goe to *Richmond*: In the mean time, the *Spanish* Independent Faction, gathered up all their Members, and braced their wit to the utmost in the House, and by stealth, or by catching an opportunity, got it passed in the House, That they approved of what the Army had done, and ordered, That the King should stay with the Army. This unexpected Vote coming from the Houses to the King, when the King was putting his foot in the Stirrup, to come for *Richmond*, as it gladdened those Rebels that detested the King; so it saddened the King and the Commissioners exceedingly: for the King hereby perceived, that there was a major part in both Houses that complied with the Army in their Designs: Now, and not untill now, did the King hearken to the charms of that Serpent *Cromwell*, who by frequent Messages to the King, proffered any thing his Majesty should desire, and courting the Kings Party into a good belief of the Independent Army, and into a dislike of the Presbyterian Party; which they gladly embraced, crying down the Covenant & Presbytery to the pit of Hell, & drinking healths to *Cromwell* thick & threefold: *Cromwell* promised to the King his Revenues, Chaplains, Wife, Children, Servants of his owne, Visitation of Friends, access of Letters; and *Ireton* assured the King that his negative-Vote should not be medled with, and did assure his M. that it was out of Conscience that they gave all this to him, for he should find them a people loving Monarchy, and that in the Royall person of King *CHARLES*, with whom they now Treated.

This *Cromwell* and *Ireton* did assure the King to restore to him, would he be pleased to sit still and act nothing against them. Thus did these Foxes, by doubling about the King, make all the Cavaliers (amongst whom was Judge *Jenkins* opening upon the same false sent) hunt counter; for they late still extolling the proceedings of the Army, whilst they were cutting the throats of the trust Subjects the King had in the Parliament house; for now did *Cromwell*, with all speed, set to work with the House, to seclude the Covenanters, and make the Votes of the House

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at his beck; and then by their Votes he would quickly have dispatched the King. First, therefore, as the Spanish faction taught the King to attache five Members, so they taught *Cromwell* to attache eleven, that he knew were most opposite to his Designs, and saw farthest into them, and would stir most to oppose him.

Cromwell had caught as 'tis supposed the Speaker and severall others that are now listed of his Faction, who were of the Spanish Faction in the Kings time, as Sir *Henry Vane* senior, who was at the Court accounted, if any thing, a Papist) in a Inare: For *Bernard alias Smith*, (that fellow which betrayed Coltonell *Andrews*, and was sent to ensnare Sir *John Gell*) having been formerly keeper of the Kings close-Cabinet, whether preferred to it as from the Queene by Sir *John Winter*, or for the Earle of *Brissow* I cannot tell; but for certain he was preferred to that trust by some of the Spanish Faction, for this end, That they might know what secret Letters passed betwixt the King & any other Faction against them at Court; that so having notice by this fellow, they might counter-work their Anagonists. This fellow, whether preferred to *Cromwell* as a fit fellow for his Designs, or whether to ingratiate himselfe he proffered his service to *Cromwell* I cannot tell, but 'tis most like he was preferred by some of the Spanish Faction; this man (I am informed) disclosed the close cabinet Letters of the Kings to *Cromwell*; wherein (as 'tis believed) *Cromwell* found severall Letters from the Speaker to the King, and from other of the Spanish faction, &th House; hereupon ('tis thought) *Cromwell* sends a privat Messenger to the Speaker, *That if he would not adhere to the interest of the Army, he would lay in so many Articles of Treason against him, and prove them under his own hand*; and hereupon the Speaker was put to this Dilemma, either he must run an uncertain hazard with the Army, or run a certain hazard by this Impachment: for, if that came against him, those of the Parliament (with whom then he joyned) would be his Condemners; and therefore of the two evils to his body, he chose the lesse hazardous, and so entered a Confederacy with *Cromwell*, and some of my Friends have torn the Articles that were preferred against him,

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The same Articles, many of them, were layd to the charge of the eleven Members, which for a time secluded them the House.

The Citizens of London beholding and abominating the open and impudent Treason of *Cromwell*, and his Faction, entered into an Engagement, to rescue the King out of the hands of those Traytors that detained him from his two Houses; and also he Engaged to defend the two Houses of Parliament. Now the eleven Members were secluded, and the zealous Presbyterians run home, whose brains had their brothers dash'd against the stones, when they sucked their breasts, had been happy for the Kingdom and them: For I am confident, had they studied mischief, and acted it in age together, they could not have been guilty of so great sin as flying from their posts in such a time of desperate need: We may lay the blood of the King upon their heads, and the name of our Government, Law, Religion, Liberties, and all that this day we are bereft of, upon such infamous Cowards heads. I hope the next Legall Parliament will return such men (if the Countrey be so foolish as to choose them) into their Countrey again, as unworthy to be in such seats of honour; through their absence the Independent party voted the Engagement of the Citizens Treason: Hereupon the Apprentices, without any weapons, Petitioned the House to recall their Vote, for they had always been, and still were, true Subjects: The Vote being recalled, the Apprentices departed, doing no harm at all; this was July 26. 1647. The Speaker came to the House the next day, and the Parliament Members sat all that day; and the next morning after that, they met at St. *Margaret* Chappell, where they sat till, and the next day the Speaker (contrary to his promise) went away (for he durst doe no otherwise, he thought) to the Army.

The Presbyterian Party perceiving themselves mocked, deluded, and betrayed by Traytors on every hand (who never showed themselves, untill they could doe the greatest mischief) and perceiving that the Spanish Factions Designe, was now, at once, to destroy the Civill and Ecclesiasticall Government of *England*, by destroying the King and Parliament: The Presbyterian Ministers encouraged the Presbyterian Members of the House, to hold

hold fast to their Covenant; and the Members of both Houses encouraged the Citizens of *London* to keep close to their Covenant; and to unite against those Rebels, whose Romish, Treasonable practises were now, to the view of the world, discovered.

The House chose them a new Speaker, and plainly perceiving the Design of the Army, in the Impeachment of the 11. Members, was nothing else but to make a party in the House to Vote, concerning the King what they would have them, received them again into the House, where the House sat freely, and voted against the Armies treasonable practises, and against *Lenthall* the Speaker's leaving of the House.

The Spanish Faction, being now met all in the Army, and by their politique stratagems having drawn many other innocent ignorant Gentlemen with them; they enter into a mutuall Confederacy with the Army, to live and die with them: Indeed this was a yeelding subjection rather to the Army to be their Vassalles, which the Usurper (if God ever permit to return into *England* a Conqueror) will plead as his Title to the Monarchy, and shew their hands as a resignation of their power, who now call themselves the Supreme authority: And is not here a notable peece of Romish policy?

Now lest the Royall party should sinell out the Designe, *Cromwell* and *Ireton* protested that they desired not to destroy, but to promote the Royall Interest, which they could not doe because of the Presbyterians: and to confirm the King in this belief, *Ireton*, *Hannamond*, *Rainsborough* and *Rich*, debated with the King about the Proposals for settling the King and Kingdom, wherein they put in and struck out as the King desired, which somthing satisfied the King; hereupon the Cavaliers cryed out against the Presbyterians, and extold the Independants to the highest.

Cromwell and *Ireton* having thus deluded the Kings party, and quieted them, took the advantage thereby to suppress the Presbyterians, and therefore marched forthwith towards *London*.

The Presbyterians, knowing their Treason and bloody Designs, put themselves in the City of *London* in a defensive posture, against their armed violence: they Voted the Army

Traytors, and promised all those that should desert them their Arrears.

Hereupon, those that were gentlemen of honor, and not Soldiers of Fortune, forsooke the Army, and came off to the Parliament at *London*, such as Sir *Robert Pie*, and Collonell *Sheffield*, Sir *William Waller*, Major Generall *Masse*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Coll. *Hollis*, and severall other of the Parliament men took up Armes, to defend the Kingdoms Priviledges against those open Traytors and Rebels; that were coming up with all their strength to assault them.

The King seeing this strange fraction made in the Parliament, through that Faction which was for the Army, and hearing that those Members of each House who stayed at *Westminster* (whom he knew was the legall Parliament beloved of the City) were raising an Army against that Army which had seized on him, fearing what would be the issue, and in this storme (mistaking the Rock for the Haven) pitched the Anchor of his hopes upon the Army; and therefore sent to *Ireton* to tell him that he would cast himself upon the Army for the settling of the Kingdom, and the preservation of his Person; and if they proved men of their words, keeping promise with him, they might save much blood and make a distracted Kingdom happy; *Ireton* bid Major *Huntington* return the King this Answer from him; *That if they sayled of a riddle of what they promised the King they were the veriest Knaves living, since the King, by his sitting still had given them great advantage against the Presbyterian Party.* The Cavaliers hereupon were all silent and quiet, expecting with great desire to see the Presbyterian Party overthrown, which they soon saw; for (to omit the narration of some of the cowardly, base, rich Citizens, as the Cause) the Army entred *London*, and marched clean through it, and brought their own Party of fugitive Members to *Westminster*, enforcing at that time the Kings faithfull Subjects, and the ablest and stoutest Protestant-Statesmen in the world to flee for their lives: such as Col. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller* and Coll. *Masse*; the hairens of whose renowned heads, were worth so many of the lives of their ignoble and treacherous enemies; in this sodain storm Sir *Philip Stapleton* and Master *Edwards* lost their lives, wherewith their

Enemies

Enemies triumphed as at a mighty Victory, and good cause they had, for one of the ablest Protestant Statesmen, and one of the stoutest Protestant Church men in *Europe* were fallen.

Observe here by the way how the spanish faction shot chiefly at those that first opposed their faction, as Sir *Philip Stapleton*, who first opposed the King at *Torke*, and prevented his levying of men in that County, with whom joyned Sir *John Meldram* and Sir *Arthur Haslerig*; how *Meldram* was betrayed at *Newark*, and how afterward slandered, and after that sleighted 'tis known; and as for Sir *Arth. Haslerig* they hate him, & use all politique means to ruine him. Sir *Will. Waller*, Sir *John Clotworthy* & Col. *Hollis*, & others of the *11*. Members who were the first opposers of the spanish faction in *Ireland*, & first took up arms to suppress them in *England*, were the men, by this Romified Army, designed to destruction; judge therefore (rational Reader) if the spanish faction, which first drew the King to make Warre against his Parliament were not here risen again, and under another hood, by their Instruments, prosecuting their first Designs (as the Parliament in all their Declarations and Remonstrances declared) viz. to ruine both King Parliament, Religion and Lawes, so that I may safely conclude (as a noble Knight of this Kingdom, immediatly after the Kings head was cut off told me) Sir (said he) be confident of it, That the selfe same spanish faction which the King nourished at Court, and many of the selfe same persons who drew him from his Parliament, are now the chiefe Actors in the cutting off his head; but I do here anticipate, To return therefore to the History.

Having made a violent assault upon the two Houses, contrary to their Votes, and brought into the Houses their owne Party, they made hay while the Sun shon; they voted the Militia of the Kingdome into the hands of the Army, and the command of the Tower of *London*; They impeached the stoutest and most cordiall Protestants in the City of high Treason, sending the Lord Major and chief of the Aldermen to the Tower.

Likewise they seized on some of the ablest headpieces of the House of Commons, who were the first opposers of the spanish faction at the English Court, before the Kings discerning of the

Houses, such as Master *Glin* the Recorder; neither did they spare the Peeres of the upper House, for some of the most renowned and most eminent Protestant Peeres in *Europe* they clapped in Prison, such as the Earle of *Lincoln*, The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and others.

And as this prevayling spanish faction secured some, so they turned out the most of the Protestants out of the places of profit and offices of trust in the Kingdome, and put in their owne confiding men of their owne faction; now you must know that the confiding men of their faction were such as were either men of great wit, who carried on their Designes, or men of mean degree preferred to high Offices, or men of mean capacities, but full of zeal for the promotion of the Armies designes, which they called the throwing down of Antichrist; now these men were altogether preferred.

Coll. *West* was put out of the Tower, and Coll. *Tichburn* placed in his roome; vice-Admirall *Batten* was turned out of his Command at Sea, and Coll. *Raisborough* put into his command both of *Dorset* castle and the Navie; and so likewise in all the Counties throughout the Kingdome, Presbyterians were displaced and Independents placed in their Commands.

The Independent Politicians (or the spanish faction, choose you whether, for they are all one) well hoped that now they had got the Militia of the Kingdom into their hands, and the Navie at Sea, the Tower of *London*, Castle of *Windsor*, all the Magazines, and new modeled the Militia of the Citie of *London*, that now they could carrie all by force, and therefore began to take more direct mediums to bring them to their desired ends; but before they could proceed secretly, they thought it best to remove the Houses now they had modelled them, to some place, where they might with most facilitie and lesse perill overawe them; therefore the Officers of the Army, who now were Masters of the Kingdom, sent to the Houses to consider of their adjournment to some other place, remote from *London*; but such and so many were the sincere Covenanters Party in the House, that notwithstanding the forcing away of many of them, the imprisoning of some, and the daily threats uttered in the House against them that remained, yet there they
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free and voted still, and many times over. Voted the Independent Party in the House.

The resolution and magnanimitie of the Presbyterian Party of this time was such, as scarce in any Age or Chronicle can be paralleled: For though the whole Militia of the Kingdome were wrested out of their hands; and in their Enemies; which Enemies had caused the Forts about *London* to be cast down; removed the *London* guards & placed guards of the Independent Army about them; yet when the Sword-men of the Army, who were Members of the house, pressed vehemently for the nulling of the votes which passed betwixt *July 26.* and *August 6. 1647.* (the time of the Speakers absence; from the time of his flying from the House, till the time of his being brought again by the Army) when they would have voted the Members that stayed at the House (during *Lenthalls* absence) *no House*; and their Votes *Illogall*. The Presbyterians voted, That they were a House during that time; And, That *Lenthall* the Speaker went from the House of his own accord, against his promise, being not any way forced thereunto nor in the least acquainting the House with his departure; which was *Illogall*; and in despite of the Army Creatures in the House, they carryed the motion of *An Ordinance* of repealing the Votes, during *Lenthalls* absence in the negative, at least four times: after which (by the Orders of the House) it ought never to be revived again.

Cromwell and his Faction being enraged at this, drew up, as from the Army, a Remonstrance, wherein they threaten to try those Members of the House, by Martiall Law, who sate and voted during *Lenthalls* absence; forbidding them to sit or Vote in the House untill such time as they had cleared themselves from giving their assent to those Votes. Hereupon *Cromwell* sent a double Guard to the House; and sent for Major *Drishard* to advance toward *Westminster* with a thousand Horse, to be ready at *Hyde Park*; in the morning *Cromwell* vowed, That he would pull out by the ears *Pelham's* Party, that sate and Voted during *Lenthalls* absence. His threats, and the threatning words of the angry and enraged Guards at the doors of the Houses, who were doubted, and the appearance of the Sword-men in the House that morning, together with their high menaces, oft laying their hands on

their Swords in the House, and threatening, *To gain that by their Swords which they could not by their Words, nor reasons* : These made many, who loved their own lives and liberties, better then the life of the Kingdoms Laws, Religion and Liberties, steal away from the House, and left the *Heros* of the world, those *Cats* of the Kingdom, being a small handfull, to grapple with those Monsters, who, having Power, regarded no Reason ; here-upon, though with much difficulty, at last, by over-voting the Presbyterian Party, they attained their unjust desires and ends : yet for all this durst not *Cromwell* play above board ; for he knew the sincere Protestants throughout the Kingdom were jealous of him, and discontented with his Proceedings. He knew the King if he were not exceeding wary, would find him out : And he knew the *Scots* were his Enemies : Therefore to give the King satisfaction, he sent Major *Huntington* to the King, to assure him, That he was sitting for the speedy settlement of His Majesty in the Throne ; And the only Remora in his way, which retarded him, was the Presbyterian Party in the House, which he and *Ireton* promised to purge ; and purge untill they had made the House sit to doe His Majesties Businesse.

Now that he might prevent the Kings Treating with the *Scotts* Commissioners, and the two Houses, who were now about to Vote Propositions to be sent to the King, at *Hampton Court*, by the Commissioners of both Kingdoms, for the settling of the King and Kingdom. *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had granted and concluded with the King, *To establish him upon farr more Honourable Terms*, granting the King all that he required ; Assuring him That they would establish him in the Throne upon those Terms ; And never leave purging, untill they had brought them to yeeld to every sinle. This *Cromwell*, smighting his hand on his breast, said (to the Messenger that was to goe to the King) *Let the King rest confident of our Proposals*. Thus he juggled with the King.

Now that he might palliate his Designes, and keep the *Scotts* Commissioners from suspecting him ; and likewise the Houses ; *Cromwell* and *Ireton* both came to the House of Commons, when the Houses were debating the Propositions, and there they both voted with the house in those Propositions, which were quite contrary to what they had promised the King before : this

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was but to drive the King the farther into their Net ; for they well knew, that the more unreasonable the Parliaments demands were, the more inclinable would the King be to reject them, and comply with the Army : Which Propositions of both Kingdoms could they perswade the King to reject, or possibly make them, by their Party in the House, so unreasonable, that the King could not in Honour nor Conscience yeild unto, they should have their ends ; that is, make a breach in affection betwixt the *Scots* and the King, and the Houses and the King, and so proceed undiscovered on all hands, to the attaining their Desires.

The quick fighted King, hearing of the Propositions of both Kingdoms, how contrary they were to *Cromwell's* and *Ireton's* ; And hearing that they sate in the House, & voted with the House at the same time, for the sending of those Propositions ; sent Maj. *Huntington* to *Cromwell*, to tell him, That he feared that he intended not to make good his Promises to him, in regard that he opposed, in the House by his Vote what he had promised him in his Propositions. *Ireton* said, That they had Voted so only to passe a complement with the *Scots*, and in some measure to answer their Desires ; but he did not expect the King should Treat upon such Propositions.

The King knowing not which way to turn Him in this great straight, He said, He knew not how to please all Parties without a Treaty. The Propositions of both Kingdoms he liked not of ; and he much feared the reality of the Armies Proposals, in regard *Cromwell* was on both sides : But *Cromwell* excused that, saying, Hee did Vote with the House only to let the unreasonableness of their Demands be known to the Kingdom ; And then he smote his breast, and bid tell the King, That as sure as the Army stood, they would make good their Propositions ; And rather then they would misse of their ends therein ; they would joyn with Spanish, Irish, Cavalier, or any whatsoever.

Hereupon (through the perswasion of *Ashburnham*, *Leg.* and *Hammond*) the King rejected the Propositions of both Kingdoms, sent by their Commissioners, and cast himself wholly upon the Army, whose Proposals were far more pleasing to the King. The *Scots* Commissioners hereat stood amaz'd; not knowing or conceiving the cause why the King should be so averse from the Treaty.

Now

Now left the People of the Kingdome should be (as they were) discontent, *Cromwell* Declares that he desired nothing so much as the taking off of Taxes, Excise and free-Quarter, which he laid as a fault on the Parliament, for not easing the Kingdome of it, and promised that when he saw them eased he would disband the Army; thus he quieted the People with hopes of future good things.

Having by his policie broke off the Treaty betwixt the King & Parliament, he talks no more of treating with the King upon his Proposals; for the end of his Proposals was only to keep the King from treating with the Scots Commissioners and the Parliaments: The King wondering that he heard no more from *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, desired to know why they retarded the settling of the Kingdome, but *Cromwell* had devised an excuse, pretending that Col. *Marten* and Col. *Rainsborough* had drawn away at least five Regiments to be Levellers, that is, to have no King, nor Lords to Rule, but only the Trustees of the People: These Levellers had all private encouragement from *Cromwell*, who put them in to divulge their papers abroad, that so the King might see their dangerous tenents. The ground of this faction came first from the *Jesuites*, whose Designe was to blow up King and Lords; for this purpose *John Lilburn* was their Hackney on which they rid. *John* began, by the help of the *Jesuites* and Romish factors, many Profelytes; amongst the rest Col. *Rainsborough* was one, a bold and a head-strong man, who at a Treaty with the King, perceiving *Ireton* to yeeld in every thing to the King, and fearing lest *Cromwell* and *Ireton* meant not really as they pretended; to prevent their Desigues (for the *Jesuites* thought *Cromwell* intended only his owne, and his sons preferment, and so to have united King and Parliament, which would have put them to an irrecoverable losse) the Agitators in each Regiment, many of which were of the right Romish breed, consulted amongst them and made an Agreement of the People, inviting the free-born People to embrace it. *Cromwell*, having layd in a sure Creature of his, Coll. *Hammond* before hand, as Governor of the Isle of *Wight*, now thinks it a fit time to get the King into his own hands, and for that end sends a Letter to Coll. *Whaley* (who then guarded the King at *Holdenby*) to de-
fire

for him to have a chain of the Kings person, for it was in some danger by reason of the Levellers, whom he could not rule; Advising his Majesty, To retire to the Isle of Wight, where he might be out of all Danger: There was then of the Kings friends Major General Eags, Colonel Ascherburn, Sir John Barlley, and Doctor Hammond. These all (except Sir John Barlley) perswaded the King To go to the Isle of Wight: Whether these men perswaded the King ignorantly, or upon Designe, as being Confederates with the Spanish Faction, is not, to me, certainly known: But tis much suspected that they were Confederates; because at this time, when the House was full of Presbyterians, and six dayes after, when the news came to the House, That the King, with those men, was gone to the Isle of Wight; the Parliament sent an Order to Coll. Hammond, to send up Sir John Barlley, Ascherburn and Leg; but Coll. Hammond would not obey the Order; neither would they come: hence the Parliament, which caused great suspicion of their Confederacy in the Conspiracy against their Master: For this is most certain (and the King saw it clearly before his death) that many of his old servants, whom he had nourished at his Court, were the Conspirators against him; but I judge no man, much lesse these Gentlemen.

The Levellers, having for that time served Cromwell's turn, he forthwith by violent meanes (by shooting one or two of them to death) suppressed them; especially by confining Coll. Rainstrong the ring-leader of them: and it was but time; for no sooner had the Spanish faction got the Person of the King in their custody, and the power of the Parliament into their hands, but presently they ran into divisions, which way to settle the Nation upon some other Basis: some of them thinking it best to keep it in an Anarchicall way, for feare of particular Persons, who might destroy the Jesuites and Romish factors interest, in the Citie, Countrey and Army, should they get to be sole Lords; but especially they feared lest Cromwell and Arden would chuse with the King and Lords, as they seemed to doe, and so their Interest would have bene confounded: This made the most of the Jesuites in the Army and Citie to bestir themselves, with all their might to oppose them,

William a quondam Independent Parson, now (I know not

H

how

how) a Major; he was by the rest of his Bretheren put on to write pretty projects, in opposition to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, endeavoring, as much as might be, thereby to cast them both out of the affection of the Army, and so to be sole possessors of it themselves, with this party joyned Mr. *Henry Martin*, Mr. *Seas*, Mr. *John Lilburn*, Col. *Rainsborough*, Mr. *Wallwin*, *Prince* and *Overton*, and severall others, whose grand businesse was at this time to cry up the Liberty of the People, in the cutting off the King and the House of Lords: And not much unlike this was the Designe of the Lord *Say's* sons, who after the Army had brought their own Party into the House, there (in at least a dozen sheets of paper) he declares what Government he would have, which was absolutely against King and Lords: Thus was the Spanish Faction on a sodain divided amongst themselves.

Cromwell having secured the King, thinks it high time to secure his own Interest, against that part of the Spanish Faction who were heaving him out of the Army, and had got the subscription of nine Regiments in the Army, to the *Agreement of the People*, which directly opposed *Cromwell's* Interest, as they had Designed it. *Cromwell* hereupon, that he might hit a terrible mark with one Arrow, declares his Judgement to be *Established Presbytery, with liberty for tender Consciences*. And thus he did partly to deceive the *Seas* Commissioners; and more especially, to cover his Designes from the Houses, and still a sleep the Presbyterians; but principally, to engage the Houses against the Levellers; and with them (in case of necessity) the Citizens. Hereupon he declares against them in the House; and forthwith by the House is sent to suppress them, which he doth, pretending to doe it in obedience to the Houses Command for that which, when he returned, he had the thanks of the House, and was in no small repute with many of the Members who before were his greate Enemies. This successfull Politician having crept into the good liking of the Covenanteer Party in the House, makes this use of it: for having now only to doe with the King, and the two Houses, before he got to be Lord of the Kingdom, he thought it best to begin with the King; and being it was his part, to play leass in fight, in such Actions, he contrived

in so that the House might doe all for him; and that was to send such Propositions to the King, as, should he agree to, would absolutely un-King him.

Now he knew the Presbyterians would never assent to the sending of such Propositions, he therefore with his Party in the House, moved for the disbanding of supernumeraries, who were a great charge to the Kingdom; now these supernumeraries were for the most part county-Troopers, and petty Garrisons which were in every County of the Kingdom: The Spanish faction so ordered it, that they voted the Members of the House (relating to the severall respective Counties where these supernumeraries were) Commissioners for the disbanding of them, and pressed it in the House that they might speedily goe down, and see it done; whiles they thus sent the Presbyterian Party about this sleevesse businesse (which any Committee-men might have done) they of the Spanish faction, being the over-Voting Party now, tooke the opportunity to debate upon Propositions to be sent to the King.

The King, being at the Isle of *Wight*, expected daily to hear of those Proposals which *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had made to him, and for which they had vowed to the King to purge the House untill they should fully grant: But in stead of those Proposals; the next news, the King met with the Propositions of *Cromwells* purged House of Commons: wherein there was no mention made of *Scotland*, or of the Covenant, or of any Reformation in the Church, but only such as tended to the setting up of the House of Commons many degrees above the King; Propositions ten times more unreasonable then those that the Commissioners of both Kingdoms sent him. The King perceiving that the Propositions were such as tended to the ruine of Religion, the Kingdoms Liberties, Himself and his Posterity, utterly rejected them, resolving rather to die then subscribe them: Now, and not before now, did the King perceive plainly, That *Cromwell*, and his Party, had betrayed him, and put him past hopes of recovering his former errors in rejecting the Propositions of both Kingdoms, when tendered to him meerly through *Cromwells* and *Iretons* perswasion, and tendering of fairer Propositions to him. The King was exceedingly moved at the impudent Treason, pre-

lented in those Propositions, whose rejecting of them (being the Message expected and desired by those that sent them) being brought by the Messenger to the Houses, they Voted. First, That they will make no more Addresses to the King. Secondly, That no Persons else whatsoever make any Addresses to the King. Thirdly, That it shall be high-Treason for any that shall make breach of this Order. Fourthly, That they will receive no more any Messages from the King, and that none shall bring any Message from him to either of the Houses.

Hereupon the Houses debated on these three things. First, That the King be Imprisoned. Secondly, That he be Impeached. Thirdly, That he be laid by. These things did Cromwell Ireton, Morden, and Sir John Birch, and others of that Party, vehemently presse in the House, notwithstanding Cromwell and Iretons Vowes and Protestations to the King, That they intended to establish him and Episcopacy, and for that end, and no other end, did they (as they protested to the King) purge the Houses of the Covenanters, the Presbyterians. Since the King (said Ireton) hath refused to pass our Bills, we ought to settle the Kingdom without him. Since we plainly perceive (said Cromwell, who cheated the King) that God hath hardened his heart, we can expect no Government from him; therefore we require that the House doe govern by their owne power; This the Army expects, who have defended you against him and absolutely conquered him; but if you refuse to reject him, the Army will seek their safety other waies. Hereupon a Declaration, from the Commons of England, was published, Feb. 17. 1647. (observe the time when, and from thence reckon the three yeers and an half of the Beast of the Earths reigne to begin) in disgrace of the King; laying Idolatry, Tyranny, Murder and Murther, and all manner of wickedness, almost, to his charge; and amongst the rest, they say that Of not treating with the Commissioners of both Kingdoms to his charge, whereas the King most earnestly desired it, but was dissuaded from it by Cromwell and Ireton, who promised to establish him upon better termes then those of the Parliaments proposing.

The Kings Party, that cryed out so much against treating with the Commissioners of both Kingdoms, and Doctor Hammond who

who hugged himself in the notion of being the pious and religious Instrument of restoring Episcopacy again, now saw (though too late to prevent) that his policy had brought his Masters head to the block, which with tears (good man) he did bewaile; which he was taken by force from being with the King & for such was their cruelty that they afforded him not a man to pray with him, or preach with him, but as they deprived his Royall & Divine body of its necessary comfort and recreation; so they shut up his precious Soule from as much spirituall comfort as man could possibly desire.

At this time did the Ghost of *Marston* the Jesuite walke in an English dresse, in every Street and County; commanding and pressing the lawfullness of killing Kings, and beheading them.

These Votes of the Houses, and the strange and unheard of usage of the King, rung throughout *Europe*, which was no small joy to the Conclave at *Rome*, to heare that the chiefe of the Protestant Peeres in *England* were either poisoned or imprisoned. To heare that the chiefe of the Protestant Members in the House of Commons, were either fled out of the Kingdome, or imprisoned; and that the only Protestant King in the World, was carried into an Island, and there close prisoner, at the mercy of his Faction, which for many yeeres had sought the ruine of him and his Parliament.

Now left the Presbyterians, who were sent down into the Countrey to disband the Supernumeraries, upon the hearing of this, should forthwith repair to the House, and avow those Votes again; The Politician *Cromwell* causeth a Brigade of horse and foot forthwith to march up to *White-Hall* and to the *Mews* and there to Quarter; and the Army set forth a Declaration, how they would acquiesce in the Votes of the House, and that and all was their. And that the avowing of this Vote might be put upon the Presbyterians, the same men next to the House, moved the setting up of the Presbyterian Government, in which Vote *Cromwell* concurred: But all this would not serve; for the sincere Protestants, both of the King and Parliament Party, were full of wroth and discontent: the Presbyterian Ministry preached throughout the Kingdom against these Proceedings, as

against the Oaths and Covenants they had taken; and they openly Declared for their part, That when they took part with the Parliament, it was to bring the King to the Throne, not to drive Him out of the Throne; To bring Him to due Justice, not to bring Him to Justice; To deliver Him from the Spanish Faction, not to deliver Him up to the Spanish Faction. The Kingdom of Scotland was also generally discontented; yea, and exceedingly enraged, in so much that a Parliament was called there, and England expected to hear speedily from them.

The Sun (the King) being obscured, a generall darkness began to come upon the Kingdom; the Prince of Wales was then in France; the Duke of York neatly conveyed himself from the hands of his Keepers from England thither.

Now began to be a Sharp contest betwixt the sincere Royall Protestants and the Spanish Faction, for the King.

Cromwell, that Serpent, foreseeing this danger at a distance (for it was not yet) takes care to provide against it. And because hee saw the Levelling Party at a great distance in their affections from him, he creeps into their affections, first by winning the notablest head-peece amongst them over to himself, such as Wildman, Wallwin, and Overton; and pretending to the honestest sort of them, a great deal of grief, that there should be such sad divisions amongst the Saints (meaning himself and the Levellers) Gods dear Children, and precious ones.

Hereupon (after he had compacted with Rainborough to be true and faithfull to his Designer, and to observe his orders) he desires to sail, that so they might seek God for uniting; and there he takes upon him to pray, and lye, and weep in abundance; after which Rainborough is again sent to Sea, and Cromwell and the Levellers most intire Friends.

By this time the Propositions of the Parliament of Scotland were come to the Parliament of England, wherein they made the Parliament of their breach of Covenant, in their Votes concerning the King; And of their breach of the Treaty and Agreement betwixt both Nations, which the English Parliaments Commissioners could not give a satisfactory account of, to the Kingdom of Scotland.

The Scots Voted high against the Rebellious carriage of the Army in England.

The

The Parliament of Scotland gave life to the Cavaliers of England, who privately lifted and prepared for War.

The Independent Army under Cromwell was dispersed through the Kingdom.

About this time Mr. Osburn had discovered, that one Ralph was appointed to kill the King at the Isle of Wight; either by poyson, or any other way; he faithfully discovers it to the Speaker in a Letter, who, with much contempt of it, made a slight narration to the House of the thing. The Presbyterians pressed to have it read; but some of the House (as if Conspirators in the Treason) cryed out against it, and desired the Speaker to neglect such triviall things.

The Princes Commissions now began to fly abroad in England, and many that formerly had served the Parliament with great faithfullnesse hitherto, were so offended with the open Treason of impudent hypocrites, that in their unmasked postures were not ashamed to out-look honesty; that they fought on the Kings side, against them. Col. Poyer in Wales first appeared against Cromwell in Wales, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale in the North.

At this time the Cavalier Party in London were exceeding fierce and mutinous, which broke quickly out into a most dangerous Insurrection, which was seasonably suppressed: Though the Citizens, in disdain, having their Militia changed, stirred not to suppress them.

The Houses seeing themselves odious, by their late actions, both in the sight of God and Men, for fear lest they should be pulled out by the eares, whiles their Armie was employed abroad, Voted, That all the Members of Parliament should be present at the House by the 25. of April.

The Scots Parliament soon after this Voted fourty Regiments to march into England for the Rescuing of the King out of the hands of the Independents.

The English Parliament meeting freely, and fully, presently untvoted what Cromwell's Party had Voted. They Voted Addresses to be made to the King. They Voted The Government of the Kingdom to be by King, Lords, and Commons. They Voted, A Treaty with the King; And that the King should have his Liberty.

Whiles

While the House were debating of a Treaty, such was the preposterous madness of those Cavaliers that desired the Kings freedom, that now, as if on purpose, their malicious hearts had plotted against a Treaty with the King, they rose in Arms and prevented the Treaty, which had they not done, but fate greatly to have been the issue of the Treaty, in all probability the King and the Parliament would have agreed, and then all the Kingdom, both Cities and Countreies would have fought against those that durst have gain'd him so happy an Agreement: But such was the unadvised zeal of the extreme party of the Cavaliers, against the Parliaments happiness, in agreeing with the King, that by their rising they heightned the spirit of the King with vain hopes, which made him more eager to a Treaty, than he otherwise would have been.

As this time the three lately Block-houses, or rather Castles, which guard the Downs, revolted, and at least seven of the chief Parliament Ships went off to the Prince. The Lord Goring, Lord Capell, the Earl of Peterborough, Earl of Holland, Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Rivers his brother, Col. Delme, the Lord Byron, and many more of the English Gentry, besides Duke Hamilton, who with many of the Scots Gentry, and a vast Army was entered the Kingdom.

These Forces being part in the North, and part in the South, the Independent Army divided themselves into the North and the South.

Generall Fairfax went against the Southern Army, and Lieutenant Generall Cromwell went against those in the North, passing from *Wales*, where he gained a Victory over the *Welsh*, which were very numerous and stout: from that Victory he quickly passed to another against the *Scots*, which he pursued into *Edinburgh*, having dispersed and taken *Hamiltons* Army, and having surprized *Duke Hamilton* (contrary to the Laws of Arms) whilst he was parlying upon Conditions to surrender. This Major Generall *Lawrence* did.

Cromwell marching into *Scotland*, drove all the Cavaliers to *Stirling*, and fettered the Militia in the sincere Covenanters hands again, professing there, both to the Earl of *Argyle*, and the rest of the Lords and Kirk of *Scotland*. That there was nothing more

dear to him then the Peace and Unity of both Kingdoms; And he should alwaies promote the Covenant Interest with his life, and with such good morrows did he salute the States and Kirk of Scotland; promising them, *To Advance and Protect*; and encourage the Ministry of England, and their Reformation, who had been such friends to him in their prayers against those Forces he fought with; and in stirring up the Presbyterian Soldiers in Lancashire and other Counties; to assist him, whose service he knew was beyond the rest of the Army, especially in Lancashire. The Parliament, being now full, called againe those of the eleven Members that were living, home to the House. Sir Philip Stan-
pleton (the hairs of whose honourable head were worth so many of the lives of his base Enemies) was by the Romish Independent blood-Hounds, hunted into the salt-water, where he caught a sicknesse which carried him to death amongst the barbarous Papists at *Callis*; where, when this pain worthy came, they would not suffer his body to be laid in grave. Sir *William Waller*, Colonel *Haltis*, Major Generall *Masse*, and those that fled beyond Sea, returned again. The imprisoned Lords were released; and the noble Citizens of London set free.

The over-voting Part of the Parliament at this time, was pure Presbyterians, whose Cordiall desires were to have the King seited in the Throne, upon Covenant terms. With them did the Kirk, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord *London*, *Lothian*, *Londendale*, and severall others of the Kingdom of Scotland concur: But they were over-voted, and over-powred by a prevailing power of pure Cavaliers (who were sincere Protestants) for the King not respecting the Covenant, which made the *Scots* Ministers preach and pray against them, and Protest against them; and Master *Gylaspin* told Duke *Hamblen* in the Pulpit, That God would not prosper him in that expedition, in that he interrupted the Covenanteer Party, who were then about to treat with the King.

Now there were in the Field, pure Protestants, with very little or no mixture at all of the Spanish faction with them, whose Designe was to make the King absolute Monarch; and there were, on the other side, the pure Spanish faction, who were (I speak of the Heads, not of the common Soldiers) resolved to

ruine both the Person of the King, Monarchy, and the power of Parliaments; this Party (because *Goring* [perhaps of the Spanish faction, for 'twas a Spanish trick] made it his first quarrell to come against the Parliament) pretended to be all for the Parliament, and in defence of the Parliament to fight with *Goring*; though their Interest were self-interest, as was cleere to all the world; for both these Parties were against the Parliament, who (like a Wolfe and a Beare for the innocent Sheep) fought only for to make an intire prey of the Parliament, only here was the difference; the one fought to preserve Monarchy, the Protestant Religion & the antient Laws; and the other fought to ruine Monarchy, the Protestant Religion, and the fundamentall Laws and Government of the Nation; both these were as *Manasses* and *Ephraim* against *Judah*, but the last of them (which prevailed) the most pernicious to all.

These, having taken the Earle of *Holland*, put to flight the Earle of *Peterborough* and Duke of *Buckingham*, having taken Duke *Hambleton*, the Lord *Capell*, the Lord *Goring* and the Lord *Mowbray*, had little else to doe then to attend the motions of the House, who had voted a Treaty of six Moneths with the King, and would faine have had it in *London*, for the more security of the Kings Person, and therefore they desired to engage the Citie to protect the King and Parliament from tumultuon; insurrections, during the Treaty, which they generally expressed a willingness unto; but upon second thoughts, the Parliament thought it most convenient to have the Treaty at the Isle of *Wight*, whither they sent their Commissioners.

The Treaty lasting six Moneths, before which time was expired the Spanish-faction, on the Parliaments side (*Cromwell* and *Ireton*) had overthrown the Protestant Royall Party, both in the North and the South; 'tis not imagined scarce how this news of the overthrow of the Scots and the taking of *Edenborough* (as 'twas reported credibly beyond Seas) did rejoyce the Imperiall Court in *Germany*, the Conelave of *Rome*, and the Pope, and the King of *Spain* and his Court, as if they all had had a particular interest in the Conquest.

The Spanish-Faction now saw a cleere way without obstruction to the dethroning of the King, and ruining of Monarchy; and subverting

subverting of Parliaments, the only thing they longed for, and therefore now collecting and uniting all their force and wit, they bent it fully to destroy them all at once.

The gifted-Brethren, i. e. the Jesuites and Romish-Seminaries had loosened the rootes of our English Government, by their Hereticall-Doctrines, or rather politick aphorismes, for they had long since been perswading the People every where, That God was now pulling down Monarchy, and when once that was pulled down (and not before) wee should see glorious times, and that Presbytery was that last rag of Antichrist, and that these Politicians might lay Nets every way to catch Peoples affections withall. *Lilly* a famous fortune teller and a Sorcerer, was hired to tell the world, *That Monarchy and Presbytery would both tumble down.*

But the grand Statesmen lay occultly, and Ordered with great deliberation and policy their Designes; for before they threw down the old Government, they had reared in their Designs another presently to appear in the room of it: In this Contrivement there were ('tis thought) the greatest Statesmens heads in *Europe*, in the ordering of the grand businesse against the two Houses and the King: the Spanish faction modelled all to the Spanish Government, therefore in the roome of King and Lords, they Ordered a Councell of State, of select men, the chiefest of them of the right stamp; and a high Court of Justice, to be a Court extraordinary in matters Criminall; as the Spanish Inquisition is in *Spain*, and all this was done on a sodain without any noyse; to the admiration of all Statesmen, who beheld their dexteritie in matters of such high concernment; all Statesmen concluding that these were but the products of premeditated Conspiracies with the E. of *Digby*, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, the Lord *Cottington* and those of the Spanish party, all of them, either appearing in Person, or by their Agents here in *England*, for the erecting of this new Government. At this time those of the Spanish faction, who drew the King from his Parliament at the first, now appeared (to the admiration of all that knew them) openly in *London*, and at *Westminster*: Sir *Kenelm Digby*, Sir *John Winter*, *Walter Montague*, *Ensimion Porter* and Sir *Edward Ford*, who was Commisary-generall *Iretons* bed-fellow; these

who were proclaimed Traytors by the Parliament, and some of them of the blood of the old gunpowder-Traytors, these were now become the familiar friends of the great men in the Armie.

But not to disturb the History :

The six Moneths drawing towards an end, the Army began to darw up towards *London*, having now finished their work : The Treary being not finished with the time, ten dayes more were added to it, in which time the King passed his Royall word to grant to his Parliament. First, *That the Protestant Religion be established.* Secondly, *That the Militia of the Kingdome shall be in the power of the Parliament for twenty yeeres.* Thirdly, *That Poperie and Heresies be abolished the three Kingdoms.*

These Concessions, with others, comming from the King, the House being full, and free from all oppression of any over-awing Force, Voted the Concessions of the King to be for the settling of the Kingdome ; to this Vote there were above an hundred and forty Voices.

The Spanish Faction, fearing lest the King and Parliament should agree, and seeing them now resolved to agree to ruine Popery and Heresie in the three Kingdomes, and establish the Protestant Religion.

Ironson now shewed himself in his colours, and bid defiance to the King and Parliament, and in a Remonstrance published to the Kingdom, calls the two Houses Traytors, and the King the grand Delinquent of the Kingdom, Declaring therein his desires to have the King brought to his Tryall, and cut off as a Traytor, and the House of Lords put down, and a period put to the present Parliament ; and abundance of such gunpowder-Traytor-staffe, which by the hands of *Emers*, one of the Army Colonells, and severall other Officers, was presented to the House of Commons ; Neither the House of Commons, nor the House of Lords abated one jot of their resolutions for the settling of the peace of the Kingdome for these faucie threats of an armed company of Traytors ; Neither did the Presbyterians spare to preach against the Armesinsurpation ; and on the other hand they encouraged the Parliament to keep close to their Covenant, and to use all meanes, lawfull, for the establishing the Peace of

of the Church and State in their Agreement with the King.

Master *Pryn*, who was alwaies formerly accounted the great Antagonist of the English Court; finding the King to comply with the Parliament so far, pressed exceedingly for an Agreement with him; shewing that never any King of *England* condescended so far to his Parliament as this had done, and therefore, as they prized the welfare of the Kingdom he desired, earnestly the House to close with him, which they did.

Ireton, fearing lest the next Vote of the House would be to have the King come home to *London*, and all those that hindred him in his coming to the Parliament, should be Voted breakers of the Peace of the Kingdom, and Traytors to the King and Parliament; and fearing lest upon such a Vote the Parliament would by their Ordinance of *Decr. 2. 1648.* for the settling of the Kingdom, raise the Kingdom against them; as open Rebels, for which end the Parliament made that Ordinance, which was the last, and never by them repealed; I pray God they whom it concerns may look to it and perform their duty, according to that lawfull Ordinance in due time; but no more of that.

Ireton, fearing the Houses Votes, knew (since he could not terrifie them by threats) that by force of Armes hee must doe what he intended to doe, sent therefore three Regiments of foot to the Houses the next morning after the Houses had Voted the Kings Concessions *To be a ground sufficient upon which to proceed to seize the Kingdom.* These armed Souldiers beset all the passages to the House, to prevent the Parliaments sitting.

The chief Actors in this Treason, were Sir *Hardresse Waller*, an Irish Knight, an old Cavalier, and enemy to the Scots, one that was in Armes against the Parliaments and was taken prisoner at *Edge-hill*, this man, and *Hugh Peters* the Independent Priest. These were the two knave Traytors, and Col. *Pride*, but a little before a poore Dray-man, and Col. *Hulson*, a most miserable broken shoe-maker; these were the two foole-Traytors, in this open and unparallel'd Treason; for observe this as a peece of the spanish factions policie. That they could not carry on this Design this way, but by subtle knaves & headstrong foole; now what will not a zealous poor foolish fellow raised from the

dunghill doe, to advance himself, when he is by knavish hypocrites cheated into a belief that in the promoting of himself and his own interest, he promotes the cause of God, and depreſſeth the hononies of the Church. This is a strong temptation, and overwelms a man that is not established in the Law of God.

Such was the policie, and such were the persons designed for, and engaged in, the Business. These men, without any reason or Commission shew'd, lay'd violent hands on the Members whom they knew to be the sincere Protestants, and had voted to throw down Popery in the three Kingdoms, and to establish the Protestant Religion, and settle the Government of the Kingdom by King, Lords, and Commons. They had (by the Spanish Faction sitting in the House) the names of those Covenant keeping Members whom they were to seize upon and keep Prisoners.

By this violent Treason, one hundred and fourty of the Members of the Parliament of England were secluded the House, and fourty of the fagst, ablest, stoutest, and holycst Protestant Statesmen (I think I may say) in the World, were most barbarously used as prisoners of war taken in a Town by storm, hauled by the rude Souldiers into a Victualing house neer Westminster, called *Hell*, where they were all thrust into one room together, and kept all night, against the Votes of those Members whom they permitted to sit; so (that all the World might know they are Usurpers) God so ordered it, that those that late then demanded their Members thus secluded, sending the Serjeant at Arms attending the House with his Mace for that purpose, whom Sir *Hardresse Waller* in contempt, turned back again; the Serjeant returning, acquainted the House with the contempt. Hereupon the Members then sitting, voted it a high breach of the Priviledges of Parliament, and entred that in the Journall Book, as an high contempt of the Authority of the House, and hereupon concluded, not to proceed in any thing untill their Members were restored, and therefore sent a Committee to the General, to demand their Members.

The resolution and magnanimity of those few which slip into the House through their fingers, who were Presbyterians and stout Covenanters, who made this unexpected stop, exceedingly

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infraged the Spanish Faction, who being loth to goe into the House to pull them out whiles the Speaker sate, sent under other names Tickets to severall of the Presbyterian Party, who coming to meet with their friends, were seized on, and carryed away from the House by the violence of the Souldiers; and the next day they examined more narrowly those that passed into the House, having Lists in their hands of whom they should exclude.

The generall Officers of the Army had now taken possession of the Royall Pallace *White-Hall*, where they took up their head Quarters, and there remained sitting in Councell. They ordered, That the *Martiall* should take into his custody the *fourty grave Members* who had all night been kept in *Holt*, and some of them almost dead with cold and the infirmities that age had brought upon them, it being in *December* 1648. the depth of Winter, and many of those Gentlemen being above threescore years of age: The next day they were (about noon, or a little before) led (like Rogues) through the streets on foot to the Councell of War at *White-Hall*; and after they had waited there above two hours in the cold, without any food or fire, they were sent by the order of the Councell of War to severall Prisons; where, after two or three dayes the chiefest and stoutest of them were taken, as Sheep out of the Flock, for the slaughter, and put by themselves under a strong Guard at *St. James's*; there they put *Sir William Waller*, Major Generall *Massie*, Major Generall *Brown*, *Sir John Cloworthy*, Commissary Generall *Coplie*, and *Sir John*-----.

Fain they would have cut off *Waller*, *Massie*, and *Brown*, three peerlesse Protestants for courage, skill, and popular repute in *Martiall* Affairs: They had no crime to lay to their charge, and without some visible colour of pretence they durst not cut them off; therefore they made use of all the Jesuiticall tricks that could be devised to insnare them: once they sent a cunning Jesuite in the dress of a Sea-man, with a pretended Letter from the Prince, who was then in *Holland*, as if the Prince had sent them Commissions, which he had brought to them: this fellow Major Generall *Brown* caused the *Martiall* to apprehend, revealing his Message to him: the *Martiall* pretended to keep him safe; but

but soon after he was seen in another habit riding in a Troop; whereby the Designe was discovered. And at another time, to the same Gentlemen in the same Prison, a fellow, in the habit of a Minister, came with Letters (as he pretended) from the Prince, desiring to speak in private with Sir *William Waller*, which he wisely refused; for had he but whispered with him, the fellow was suborned to swear that he delivered, and Sir *William* received, privately from him a Message from the Prince; then would the Souldiers at the door when he departed, have seized on this fellow as a Spie; conveyed him to the Councell of Warre; there he should have been examined strictly, and promised life, if he would confesse; and then with a pretended much adoe, he should have confessed, that he had delivered such a Letter, and such a Message to such a man. And here had been a specious pretence of Treason to have taken away an innocent mans life, which they shyfted after. But the good hand of God was with these Gentlemen, that none of these trains blowed them up, because they discovered it before it took fire.

By this time *Cromwell* was come up from the North with the other part of the Army, so that *London* had neer 20000. Souldiers in it, who entering the Citie, broke down the chains, and took possession of the Gates of the Citie; of *Pauls Church*, and of many of the chief great Houses, and Halls in, and about the Citie; seizing on the Poores money at *Weavers Hall*, which was thirty thousand pounds; and playing many odious pranks, which in regard of those great Treasons acted at *Westminster*, were not taken generall notice of then.

At this time did the win, strength, and policie of the Spanish and Independent Faction work exceedingly: Now all the World plainly saw that they were all one in their Councels and Projects: for (which was a dreadfull Spectacle for the Protestants to behold) the soundest, sincerest, and boldest Protestant Statesmen in *Europe* were looking through grates in a Prison, whiles *Vickar* Generall *Orellis*, the arch *Irish* Rebels Agent, was imbraced and consulted withall; Sir *John Winter*, Sir *Kelnew Digby*, *Walter Montague*; *Endimion Porter*, *Cottingham*, and *Digby's* Agents, and many other known to be desperate Enemies to the Protestant Religion, being all of the Spanish Faction and strong Pa-

pists;

pists, these now were the men that got again possession of *White-Hall*, which durst never come near it, from the time the Popes *Nuntio* left *England* untill this time; and now who but they, though their consultations were all in private with the Independents at this time.

Now the full cry of the Jesuites [in those flocks of Pamphlets which flew through the Kingdom] was down with Kings, as Antichristian; as Tyrannicall; it is lawfull to bring Kings to Justice, to depose them, to behead them; and that King *Charles* was the Grand Delinquent of the Kingdom, and that Justice ought to be done upon him.

Now the private agents of the Independents, by their Letters from *Venice*, *Rome*, *Spain*, the Emperours Court from *Paris* in *France*, and severall other parts where they could correspond with the *Spanish* Faction, beganne to discover themselves and their correspondents. *London* was now overflow'd with Priests and Jesuites, who usurped the Protestant Pulpits with extraordinary boldness, being all profess'd Independents, crying out against Kingly Government, and Presbyterie, as Antichristian, which must be overthrown; ere the glorious day of the Saints triumph could appear.

Cromwell being now to shut the greatest Gulf, having now the work to do, which he had bin all this while by force and policy making way unto; he saw but two main rubs in the way, which he durst not meddle with in a boisterous way, and those were the Presbyterian Ministry of the Kingdom, who preached vehemently against the Treasonable practices of the Army.

The other whom he durst not at this time meddle with, were those down-right dealers called Levellers, I call them down-right dealers, because they did not hide their Principles, nor change their Principles.

He therefore dealt with both by Flattery, and first he sent for the Presbyterians.

1. Summoning them by their Power at *White-Hall*, which they refused to obey, nor acknowledging their Power.

Then they sent for to conferre privately with them; which the Presbyterian Ministers consented to, and gave them a meeting, where *Cromwell* began to declare to them

the sincerity of his heart, how full it was of good desires for the promoting of the good and interest of honest men, and really Saints.

And as for the late actings of the Army, in imprisoning and secluding by armed violence the Members of Parliament, he confessed it was without his approbation, and acknowledged it to be irregular, but he was most confident that the end would be good, though the means to that end were irregular. For his part he could not but see (he said) much of God in the carrying on of those things, considering that impulse of spirit that was upon those worthy and holy Saints that acted these things, and then the good success that God had given them in all their undertakings, and the self-preservation [which he said the law of God and nature enjoyed] put them on to do what they did, and a generall and absolute necessity lay upon them to do what they did, for otherwise the interest of honest men would have utterly been destroyed.

The Minister presently picked up all these arguments, and from the Law of God, the holy Scripture, so fully answered every one of them, that they put them all to silence, that they had not a word to say; and not only so, but the next Lords day the most of the Presbyterians confuted their Arguments in the Pulpit, and forewarned their Congregations to have nothing to do with men of such false Principles. Neither was this all, but the boldest and vallantest of the Ministers of London went to the generall Officers, and deborted them from those evill courses and practises they had in hand, but their Counsell was contemned, and they frowned upon. And [said Cromwell] to a godly Minister, since I perceive the Presbyterian Ministers are fully bent against me, I am resolved [though I intended otherwise when I came out of Scotland] to be their ruine; so exceedingly enraged was this proud malicious Traytor against the godly Ministry of the Kingdom, because he could not make them bend to his designs.

These his Threats could not terrify the Ministers, so as to make them lose their integrity, or be silent at his wicked and open Rebellion, but the gravest of them writ
and

and subscribed a vindication of themselves, that they did detest those illegal proceedings of the Army, in offering violence to the Houses at *Westminster*, and going about to overthrow the King.

The Independent Ministers preached altogether for the Army, *Judas Goodwin* writ a book for them, wherein he declared himselfe directly contrary to his former principles in Print, which made Sir *Francis Nerborf* proclaim him the most self-condemnedst Meretick in the world. Master *Geery* a learned and pious Presbyterian, clearly confuted *Goodwins* booke in Print, and therein the illegality of the Armys proceedings. More could not be done by the Presbyterians, then was now done against the Army on the behalf of the King and Parliament, and yet there is a generation of Lyars, who in this age dare to affirm most impiously and falsly, that the Presbyterians brought the Kings neck to the block, when onely for defending the King and Parliaments cause, their necks lye on the block to this day.

The Independent Politicians not being able to win the Presbyterians by Flatteries, nor convince them by Arguments, set to slander them, and asperse them secretly, and openly in their Pamphlets; whereupon the Ministers declared on my knowledg openly, that they never intended evill against the person of the King, in joyning with the Parliament and declaring for them; but they joyned with the Parliament that they might bring home the King, and establish him in his Throne, and keep the wicked from that Throne; and they protested also against the Tryall of the King as illegal: this they did very often, whereby a vast breach was made betwixt them and the Independent party; The Presbyterians protesting against their proceedings as contrary to the law of God, of Nature, and of the Land.

The Presbyterians of this time did expresse so much the sincerity and integrity of Loyall Subjects, that the King then saw and confessed what he could never believe before, *viz.* that the Presbyterians were his truest subjects, after he had read Master *Prins* Speech; considering how much cause (of any man) Master *Prin* had to be against him, and considering

how he had formerly writ against the excesses of his Court; and now reading his speech made in the Houle, and finding him therein so full of inveterate hatred to Traytors and Rebels, and so cordiall and earnest for the establishing of him in his Throne, he said to a friend of his standing by him, here (said the King) *Take this book, I give it thee as a Legacy, and believe it, This gentleman (laying his hand on the book) is the Cato of the Age.*

The Independents knew not what to do against the Presbyterians, because their hands were full of other work, and therefore they set their tongues against them, saying, *That God had hardened and blinded them to their own destruction, and they were in the dark, and under sore temptations, and were not able to discern the high things of God, they were hidden to the world, and only revealed to the Saints in the Army.*

From the Presbyterians therefore they turned to the Levelers, for fear lest they who owed Cromwell a grutch should now pay it him.

Cromwell therefore first creeps to them, confesseth there were great failings on his part towards them, desires to bewail that want of Christian love in these glorious dates, which ought to be betwixt Saints, especially in these times of Apollacy, when every body fell off from them, he desired therefore that they would unite, and send their Agents to consult what was best to be done, and that a set day of Humiliation might be appointed, wherein they might be humbled for their breaches, and united ever after more firmly. Hereupon *Lilburn, Walwin, Prince, and Overton* sat in a Committee by themselves to draw up what they desired, that so there might be at last a happy agreement of all parties in the new Government to be established, for on all sides was concluded that the old Government should be pulled down.

Now since the Presbyterian party (who were most desired in this business, that so the infamy of killing Kings might be cast upon them) could not be gained by any means; it was necessary for Cromwell to unite all the Sectarians fast to him, and that he knew he could not doe, without pretending to advance their

their interest in the present design, which he did, most artificial-
ly dissemble to his great advantage.

Now least Generall Fairfax should see (throw all the mist that *Cromwell* had cast before his eyes) the treason of the Span-
nish Faction; and their secret designs to throw down the Pro-
testant Religion, the Magistracy, and the Ministry, which he
had just cause to fear, because the Presbyterian Ministers, and
the ablest Presbyterian Statesmen had access to him: to pre-
vent this, double guards were placed about the Generall to pre-
vent their coming, with secret orders to stop such as they sus-
pected to come on any such designs to the Generall.

But not trusting to that, he went a surer way to work, for he
stole all the power out of his hand, by passing an Order at the
Councell of Warr, that nothing should be done by any, but
what was concluded of by the Generall Officers of the Army,
so that the Generall hereby had no more power than one of his
Colonels.

Now that *Cromwell* might firmly unite the Councell of War
to him, which consisted of a few able Head-pieces, to whom
he laid himself open, so far, as to shew them their profit and
preferment in the designe, which united them fast to him, the o-
ther part, who were lost heads, and had a good meaning to do
no evil; but to promote the Kingdome of Christ, and throw
down Antichrist, and then according to their duty [as they were
taught] to take possession of, and [as Saints] reign over the
Kingdome; *Cromwell* provided fit food to feed such fantasies,
for he had provided a monstrous Witch full of all deceitfull
craft, who being put into brave cloaths, pretended she was a
Lady that was come from a far Countrey, being sent by God to
the Army with a Revelation, which she must make known to the
Army, for necessity was laid upon her, this Witch had a fair
lodging prepared prepared for her in *White Hall* where she was
very retired.

This Witch had her lesson taught her beforehand by *Crom-
well* and *Irton*, by whose Order she was entertained at *White-
Hall*.

She desired audience at the Council of Warre, for to them she said she was sent.

Cromwell and *Ireton* to begger the more attention and belief in the Officers of the Council of Warre, began to extoll the excellency of Revelation; and conceived that this Prophetess being a precious Saint, and having much of God in her, ought to be heard, and that with all attention; because in such glorious days as these God did manifest himself extraordinarily: and especially to his Saints, in chalking out their way before them, when they came into straights and difficulties; such as they were in at that time.

By this time the Witch was come to the door, and forthwith she had admittance; where the Officers all beheld her, and her strange postures, expressing high devotion. *Cromwell* and *Ireton* fixing their eyes upon her in most solemn manner, (to begger in the rest of the Officers (who were ready to laugh) an apprehension of some extraordinary serious thing) fell both of them to weeping; the Witch looking in their faces, and seeing them weep, fell to weeping likewise; and began to tell them what acquaintance she had with God by Revelation, and how such a day, such an hour, after such a manner she had a Revelation; which she was to reveal only to them; and that was, that the glorious time of setting up Christs Kingdom was near at hand, and that Antichrist must be speedily thrown down, and that they were the Instruments that were by God ordained to throw him down; and how they were about that great work, and that if they would prosper in it, they must first remove the King out of the way, which they must do by proceeding first to try him, and then to condemn him, and then to depose him, but not to put him to death: with a great deal more such stuff which that weeks Diurnall printed at large, so open was this business. This relation I had from one that was strongly of the Armies party, but related this shameful story with much indignation.

Lilly was taught at this time with bribes to Point his opinion, which was much according to the opinion of his sister Witch.

Some

Some of the soberer and more religious of the Officers being much flattered at these Revelations, but not so all satisfied, repaired to some of the most religious and able Independents to know their opinion of these things, and to desire advice what to do; they replied (I am informed *Thomas Goodwin* in particular) that since they had gone so far, they must now carry it on, though with the blood of those that stood in their way, for if they now made a stop, farewell their cause for ever; this was good in Politics, but bad in Divinity; it was a true politike Aphorism of *Machiavelli*, but false Doctrine in the Divinity Schools: however they made use of this Doctrine to proceed in their designs, for the promotion of the Independent cause.

By this time *John Lilburn* and his party, who sat at *White-Hall* to draw up their desires, had brought their business to some maturity, which was, as I conceive, inserted in the Paper called the *Agreement of the People*, the sum whereof was no more then this, to throw down King, Lords, and Commons, as then established, to throw down the Laws, Inns of Court, Courts of Judicature, Church Government, the Universities, the Functions of the Clergy.

This Agreement being debated at the Generall Council, *Cromwell* (whose design was to set up another Government, and was then about it) opposed this Agreement, because it opposed his design; for though he sat in Council with the Generall Officers, yet he consulted altogether with the Spanish Faction, to set up a Government according to the Government in Spain (*vid.*) by a Council of State, and a High Court of Justice.

The Generall Council of War was hereby divided about this Agreement of the People, and so equally divided, that only one voice carried it, or two at the most in the Negative, which gave occasion to Colonel *Hewson*, (as I remember) to say, how can we call this the Agreement of the People, when we our selves are divided about it? Hereupon it was thought fittest to be printed, and sent abroad, to see how the people liked of it, before they proceeded any farther.

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In the mean while *Cromwell* makes all haste to throw down the Old Government, and clap up in the stead thereof the *Spanish* Government, which leads me back to the House at Westminster of late, about the 10th of March 1647. would be as if

The House of Commons having been purged by *Cromwell* of two hundred of the choicest Members, and now full of the *Spanish* Faction, they proceeded (like themselves) to Vote.

1. That the Treaty with the King was dishonourable, and destructive to the Common wealth of *England*.

2. That the House of Commons Votes of the Kings Concessions to be a ground for the Parliament, to settle the Peace of the Kingdom upon] should be null, and of none effect.

3. That the Votes of *February 17. 1647.* of no more addresses to be made to the King, should be in full force, as formerly.

4. That no Member should be capable of sitting in the House, untill he had entered his protest against the Votes of the House, *December 8. 1648.* viz. that the Kings Concessions were ground sufficient for the settling of the Kingdom.

After this, the *Spanish* Faction presently in the House began to shew to all the world that they were now the Lords possessors of the Parliament: they began to vote the King a Tyrant, a Traytor, a publike enemy to the State, and to be brought to Justice. This or such like Votes they sent to the House of Lords, desiring their concurrence therein; who no sooner saw it, but rejected it. Hereupon the *Spanish* Faction in the House of Commons, without and against the Lords Voted,

First that the people are the Originall of just power: this was right according to the Jesuites writings and pleadings at that time.

2. That the Commons are the supreme power of the Nation.

3. That whatsoever is declared by the House of Commons to be Law, hath the force of a Law.

These

These three Votes passing current for Law amongst them, they clapped thereby the Crown upon their own heads; and presently trampled under foot (as a little before the chiefeft and greateft number of the House of Commons) so now the King and House of Lords, using the same violent means to supplant them; for they threatned the Lords to take them, and make them prisoners of War if they sate any more; and to prevent them, they clapped a lock upon the door of the House of Lords, and a strong guard before it to prevent their sitting: Hereupon the Lords (as the secluded Members before them had done) protested against the armed treasonable violence of the Army, in secluded them their House.

The next great *remora* in their way was the King, whose person as well as power they must remove out of the way, if ever they intended to settle themselves in peace, except they could inforce him by threats and terrors to resign his Royall power to them, which was oft attempted, but to no purpose; for the King alwaies resolved, whatever befall him, never to betray his Religion, his Power, and his peoples Liberties into the hands of usurping trayterous persons, therefore the Spanish Faction resolved to cut him off.

Now that they might cut him off with the most self-advantage, so as in his ruine to establish themselves in the Throne, they so contrived it, that they would make themselves his Judges, and cut him off as a Traytor, and so his Posterity being attained, should be disinherited for ever.

This fine design was contrived long before it came to be put in execution, and (if reports be as true as they are probable) it was contrived beyond Sea, and some will not stick to affirm, (which I am unwilling to believe) that the Queen of England after the King went into the Scots Army, furthered the designe of ruining her Royall loving husband, for fear he should ruine her Religion. That the Jesuits and the Spanish Faction did in Oxford, (immediately after the Kings going thence to the Scots) conspire together to ruine and destroy the King: I have it from a Jesuits own Confession in print, *Bernard* the only Intelligencer at Court in those daies, is the man that affirms it in his book called *Polemica-mutata*.

These Assertions, and many more Circumstances made me credit that relation, which told me for certain, that *Walser Montague*, *Endimion Porter*, and the rest of those Papists who came at that time over into *England*, were they that were the designed men sent on purpose (from *Rome* some of them) to manage the businesse in the Kings Tryall, and if the King had pleaded, they were to have come as Witnesses against him.

This was laid particularly to *Endimion Porters* Charge, by some English Gentlemen, and to Sir *John Winter*s charge.

It is thought that after *Endimion Porter* saw his loving Master cut off, calling to mind the favors he had received from him, and his most unkind requirall of them, his conscience so smote him, that he went to his House in the Countrey; and there poisoned himself, falling down dead on a suddain as he sat in his Parlour; and hereupon also (after the death of the King) Sir *John Winter* was so generally cry'd out of as a Traytor and Conspirator in the businesse, that for fear of his life (least some of the Loyal English Gentry should kill him) and to palliate the design, he had the favour to take up Lodgings in the Tower, which (by all means) went under the name of Imprisoning him. *Walter Montague* and the rest of that designed party, perceiving that their Treason was openly known, and fearing least they, or some of them, should be (as peradventure they were) taken for not only the Conspirators, but the beheaders of the King, and so meet with the just reward, of Traytors, suddain death from some enraged hand, desired to have a pass to return (since the work of killing the King was done) beyond Seas, which that they might with less suspicion of the Treason, and more security pass, they pretended to banish them; and so Sir *Kenelm Digby* must be gone forsooth out of the Kingdom, as a banisht man.

A Noble person of this Kingdom (of Sir *Kenelm*s acquaintance) told me that he observed Sir *Kenelm* in publick, to exclaim against the hereditary right of Kings; as a most pernicious thing to a Kingdom; saying, that oftentimes thereby the Kingdom was governed by children, fools, and women: And hereupon took occasion to traduce the Prince of *Wales* now King of *Scotland*, saying that he was a fool, and had neither breeding, nor any thing like a Prince in him; at the same time highly commending

mending *Cromwel* as one of the ablest men in Europe; and *Bradshaw* (that late as the Kings Judge) for a most gallant man; but I know not how I have here again anticipated my self: to return therefore to the History where we left.

Before they would adventure to put in execution the removing of the Kings person, they thought fit to remove all Presbyterians out of office in the Kingdom, but especially in the City of London; The packt party of the House of Commons therefore voted every man out of office that set his hand to be willing to keep peace in the City; and to preserve the King and Parliament from all tumultuary fears, whilst the Treaty betwixt the King and the two Houses lasted.

Hereby the Aldermen, the Colonels, the Common-Counsellmen, the Custome-house-men, were all turned out of their offices, and the Militia of the City put into confiding mens hands; As for *Southwark* and *Westminster*, they made them distinct from the Militia of the City, so that both the Counsell and the Militia of the City was at their Command, and acted right to their designs.

At this time in every part of the Kingdom, the Independents and the *Romish* Factors were hard at work in drawing Petitions, and in the name of the well-affected people of the respective Counties, to beseech the Parliament, that as they had begun to do Justice, and to free the Kingdom of its enemies, so they would proceed to bring the Grand Delinquents of the Kingdom to Justice, and restore the Kingdom to its ancient Liberties: Such a Petition did the new Common-Counsellmen draw up, and caused it to be read in the Common-Counsell; which by the ancient customs of the City consists of a Lord Mayor: Aldermen, and forty Common-Counsellmen at least.

This Petition being read openly in the audience of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Aldermen utterly disliking it, withdrew; you must know the drift of the Petition was to provoke the Parliament (which they acknowledged then sitting to be the Supreme power of the Kingdome) to cut off the King, which the Aldermen would not assent unto after the reading of the Petition; the malapert young Common Councillors being

taught their lesson before hand, cryed out, *a Vote, a Vote*: The Lord Mayor made answer, that it could not be, because there was not a compleat Court, in regard there were not present Aldermen, The young Commoners sawcily replied again, *That however if his Lordship would not put it to the Vote, they would without him*, alledging, *that the Lord Mayor had no more power then they in that place*. Hereupon the Lord Mayor withdrew, and and these young fellows in the Common Councell remained sitting, chusing them a Chair-man, to whose new created Worship they made all their learned speeches, who (right or wrong) agreed to all they said; and thus was this worthy businesse of a trayterous Petition, full of high-flowne nonsense, dispatched to the Parliament, who could do no lesse then return them most hearty thanks for their good affections,; and in answer to the Petitions of the whole Kingdome (for so they noised it) though many of the Petitions were drawn in a *London Ale-house*, and never saw the Countrey, or the Countrey it) the party of Commonners appointed by *Cromwell* and *Ireton* to sit in the House, voted a High Court of Justice, and a Councell of State to be two distinct High Courts in the Common-wealth, the one for the ordering of the grand Affairs of the Kingdome, and the other for to judge and determine matters criminall: Here old *England* became visibly in its Government, a new *Spain*.

Cornet Joyce, having with a party of souldiers by order from *Cromwell* seized again on the Kings person at *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*, by breaking open the door in the night when the King was in his bed, and taking him thence, and bringing him over the water out of the Isle of *Wight*, to *Hurst Castle* Colonel *Harrison* was by *Cromwell* sent with a strong party of Horse to guard the King, from thence to *Windsor*.

The High Court of Justice, which consisted of men chosen for the purpose, some Parliament men, some Citizens, some Countrey gentlemen, to the number of an hundred and fifty, sent abroad their new Mace, and a Serjeant at Armes with it, to proclaim by sound of Trumpet, at the Royall Exchange, the Tryall of *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, and in Cheapside, and in severall other publike places in the City, and at *Westminster* it was proclaimed.

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Mean while the Spanish Politicians plyed the King hard, rather to surrender his power, then lose his life, these pretended out of love to the Kings person, to perswade him to surrender, but the King perceived now the design, and how the hands of the Popish and the Spanish Faction, whom he had nourished at his Court, were they that were lifted up against him, and went to murder him, and uncrown his Posterity.

At this time, least the Court of *France* should any way retard their design, the Spanish Faction by their Emisaries raised a suddain and a strange Civill Broyle and contention, betwixt Cardinall *Mazarini*, and those other Princes of the contrary Faction, as the Prince *Du Condé*, and others.

Sir *Kenelm Digby*s passing to and again through *France*, about this time blew up the cole of contention into a flame of Civill Warr; and at the same time made them begin an unreasonable quarrell with us at Sea, purposely to undo the English Merchants, and to give sufficient ground to the English Army to pick a quarrell with *France*, and invade that Kingdome, hoping thereby in time, with the assistance of the Spanish Army, and the Spanish Agents at the French Court (which lie at this day skulking there, to do the English and the Spanish Faction service) to levell *France* to the Spanish Modell, as well as *England*.

These Agents (of the same Faction) who lie as spies about the French Court, at this time held intelligence and correspondence with the Spanish Faction here in *England*, as is clear by their Letters: take one in *Novemb. 28. 1648.* written from *Paris* to one of the Spanish Faction, a Member of the House of Commons: These are the words of the Letter.

I am fallen into the acquaintance of three or four Catholiques of great ingenuity, I find them men better principled for to make Members of a free Common-wealth, then the most English; their opposition to the King is not to be reconciled, their hopes are now upon the English Army, to whom they wish all prosperity, as to the setting up of a Representative of the people, being extreme enemies to Regall hereditary Power throughout the world: by this you may guess that the treasons now acting on the English Theater, were contrived by the Popish Statists, whose design is to throw down the King of France,

France, and all the rest of those Princes that any way crosse the Spanish designs, or wish and the Popish Religion.

But to our history.

All *Remoras* being removed, (which might hinder the proceeding of the Spanish Faction in the putting in execution the horrid treason that ever was committed upon the face of the earth, since the murdering of our blessed Lord and Saviour) to work they go, having the King in their clutches again, he being the only Protestant King in the world, they thought they would make him a patern of misery to the world; this good King had neither wife nor child admitted to come neer him, nor friend, nor *Chaplain*, nor servant of his own, wherein he could take the least comfort, either in discourse, or in beholding their countenances: he had no body to open his mind to, no body to sympathize with him, or so much as to bestow a sigh upon him, in his solitary and disconsolate condition, but like another *David*, when his wives and children were gone, and he had no house to put his head in; then did those about him speak it openly, that they would put him to death, and that not in a passion, but soberly, as if it were a pious meritorious work, to kill the only pious Protestant King in the world.

This good King, through his great sufferings, and unheard of afflictions, both of body and mind, wherewith God was pleased to exercise him, became a patern of patience; and will be so to all posteritie: For under all those reproaches which he heard with his ears, and read with his eyes, against his Crown, his Dignity, his Person, his Name, his Posterity, notwithstanding the violence offered to him in the midst of the night, in breaking in to his Chamber, and taking him out of his bed from thence, hurrying him, partly by Land, and partly by Sea to *Hurst Castle*, from thence to *Windsor*, from *Windsor* to *S. James's*, in all which he was not heard so much, as to speak evil of his adversaries, or to use a bitter word, or demean himself impatiently; but as a Lamb leading to the slaughter, so meek was he in those mercilesse butchers hands: At *S. James's* he was kept, untill the Scaffold were erected in *Westminster Hall*, where it was reported, that not only the Officers cast foul reproaches of tyranny and murder into his face, daily and hourly, but oft times the common

common souldiers by blowing of *Tobacco*, (which he could not indure) by beating of Drums at unseasonable hours close by him, did extremely abuse him, besides their most uncivill words to his very face, yet was he patient under all, being abused and reviled, he reviled not again.

At last Colonel *Tomlinson* was the Kings Goaler, whose high commendations above all other men in the Army was this, that he dealt civilly with the King.

On *January* 20. 1648. The High Court of Justice sate, a certain man called *Bradshaw*, a Councillor at Law, who being a man of a fluent tongue, and bold, and it seems alwaies a bitter man against the King, was found out, and by promises of great preferment and high matters, was easily perswaded to be the man to act the part of a Judge, or rather of a God, and take upon him to judge and condemn the Protestant King; this fellow they made a scarlet gown for him, that he might look like some body above his fellows; they gave him also a strange name, they died him in red, and dipped him by the name of (*my Lord President*) yet he had his name before he had his red coat, for it seems they were in such haste to dispatch this pious King, who stood in the way to hinder their designs, that the businesse was come to the last day, ere the Taylor (as I take it) had brought home that garment, which made him the scarlet coloured Beast (he was full of blasphemy before) this blasphemous Beast was made the Judge, and one *Cook*, a fellow that had formerly fled out of this Kingdom, whether his knavery, or poverty, or both drove him, I cannot tell, but the one or both I am sure, this fellow (as I am informed by gentlemen of worth) was inforced beyond Sea to beg for his victuals, being an English man, and having Latine enough to beg his living by, he resorted to the Colledges of English Jesuits, where like *Persius's* Parrot, his belly taught his tongue his *chais*. I mention this only, to give you notice what interest the Jesuits had in this fellow by pre-ingenagements: this fellow, when he asked for bread, they gave him Scorpions doubleless, which made the Spanish Faction chuse him above all others, to be a Solicitor General to manage a charge of Treason against a Protestant King in his own Dominions: be confident a true Protestant dares not be so base a Traytor, nor any, but an Apostate

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Apostate English man, be so base a scandall to his Nation, but they were hail fellow, well met at this Court, here might a man have beheld the juice of that toad *Mariana*, swelling up each villain in the Court, to spet venom in the spotlesse face (as to man) of his Royall Majesty.

My intencion in this short discourse is not to catch womens affections, but to inform mans judgements, otherwise twere very easie, I think to make the stoniest heart to spring a flood of tears, or split in shivers to read this Trajedy.

Turn natures order upside down, transform it how you can to make a prodigy, it cannot be so horrid, nor so dismall a spectacle, as here I could not present the Reader. Could you see a company of ugly filthy goal-birds, with their fetters on, rise up, lay hands upon the innocent Judge, and clap their fetters on his legs, place him at their Barr, call him the Malefactor, and pass the sentence of death upon him, could you see this Judge with patience submit to the ugly and unjust sentence of these blondy rogues, and meekly suffer himself to be lead to the place of Execution, and there have his innocent head severed from his shoulders; yet here is ten times a more horrid sight to be seen in this, then that can be: but I must pass it over, least when I get into it, I know not how to get out of it, only take these few touches, which other books printed have not.

There was never so much Majesty and meekness seen together in any man that was but a meer man, since the world was made that we can read or hear of, as in this King; this was so much the more, by how much he endured his enemies reproaches, which were most bitter and cruel. He had so much Majesty at his first appearing at the Court before them, that he made his Judges tremble at his appearing, and so much meekness in his replies to their reproaches, that it even thawed the frozen bowels of those rigid Clowns his Judges, to a kind of inward reluctancy, ask some of their consciences whether this is not true, they do confesse it.

It should seem some of them had been enquiring of *Lilly* the Sorcerer whither they should take away his life, to which he replied, that if the head of his staff fall off, his head would fall off also. And the first day the King was brought before them, they had

had bewitched the head of the staff to fall off, which made them that were his Judges, confident of success in their Treason.

They drew a formall charge against the King, wherein they charged him as a Tyrant, as a Traytor, as a Murtherer, and a publick enemy to the Common-wealth; after the charge was read, *Bradshaw* desired him that he would answer to his charge; The King with an amiable grave countenance beholding his enemies, and joyning with it such meek language, so full of deep and solid reason, made his enemies to admire and applaud him; and his friends to weep bitterly for him. The King would not (because in conscience he could not) acknowledg their authority; if he had, he had betrayed the liberties of his people; for if the King should have granted (which was the only thing they desired) the legality of their Court; what Subject durst have denied it: therefore the King said (and that truly) he stood for his peoples liberties, and the peace of his Country, not allowing to have his subjects cut off illegally.

It was admirable to see this Heroick Prince bear up undauntedly under all those discouragements with which he was oppressed; he had at his right hand *Cook* calling for Justice against the Trayor, the Murtherer, the Tyrant, and the publick enemy of the Kingdom, on the right hand and on the left, at least twenty Halberteers; Directly before him, *Bradshaw* sawcily and presumptuously interrogating, reviling, and slandering of him; behind him in *Westminster Hall*; there were thousands of souldiers, who when the King turned his face and looked down on them, they cryed out aloud (being taught before hand what to say) Justice, Justice, Justice.

The King was brought four times to his publick tryal before these men, and still denyed their authority, and proved it to be no legal authority, whertupon the two next days they sate not publicly, but privately in the painted Chamber, where they were drawing up the sentence.

I should have mentioned in due place, that when the Commons had voted the High-Court of Justice to sit, they adjourned themselves untill their time of sitting was out; And also how *Cromwell* a litle before they took this trayterous enterprife in hand, called for a Fast, to seek God in a business of so great

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concernment; This Fast the House kept, and the Souldiers at *White Hall*; at the same time did the Presbyterian Ministers fast and pray to prevent the mischiefs that *Cromwell* was acting against the Church and State, the Magistracy, and the Ministry of *England*. After *Cromwell* had done fasting, they presently proceeded to the tryal of the King; He and *brethren* who had promised the King to establish him, and they were the greatest knaves and villaines that ever lived (they said) if they did not perform every tittle that they promised him; these two errand knaves and villains (from their own mouths I judge them so, were there in my sight at the Court of Justice, to take away his life.

The Citizens of *London*, and the Presbyterian Ministers (for none else stirred to save the Kings life) hearing that they were sitting in the painted Chamber, to draw up the sentence of death against the King, went boldly to General *Fairfax*, and acquainted him with the sin, and the dangerous consequences of such a horrid sin; The General was fully convinced of it, and thereupon resolved to call a Generall rendezvous, and in the head of the Army to protest against it; in the mean while he resolved to go to the High-Court of Justice, and there to stop all proceedings against the King for the present.

Therefore he sought for his Lieutenant, Generall *Cromwell*, and finding him, told him he was much troubled, and unsatisfied in his mind about the proceedings of the High-Court of Justice against the King, and therefore came on purpose to desire them to proceed no further, untill the House met and sat again. *Cromwell* told the General, that he also had the same trouble upon his spirit concerning the saving of the Kings life; they were now about his life he did confess, and what to do he knew not; only he said, he saw God answering their prayers, and going before them hitherto; They had sought God by fasting, and those of a contrary opinion had sought God by fasting, but God seemed to cross their prayers, and they seemed (meaning the Presbyterians) to him to be in the dark, and deserted. Let us therefore (said he) as we have seen the providence of God, answering our prayers hitherto, when we have sought him; so let us before we proceed any further in such a weighty business,

go first to God in prayer, and wait; perhaps God may be seen in his providence whilst we are at prayer; the Generall was content to use all pious means: Hereupon *Cromwel* stops the Generall from prohibiting the Court of Justice, to proceed any further against the King untill prayer was done, in the mean time *Cromwel* privately sends *Ireton* from *Whit-Hall* to the painted Chamber (to them there drawing up the sentence) to finish it, seal it, and forthwith disperse themselves; whilst *Ireton* goes, *Cromwel* keeps the Generall at prayer, and holds him there (good man upon his knees) almost two houres, till *Ireton* returned again; and then *Cromwel* (who prayed all that while) drew to a Conclusion; *Cromwel* pretending now in all haste to go to the Court of Justice, to stop proceedings against the King, was told by *Ireton* in the Generalls hearing, that they had signed the sentence against the King, and were then, even then broke up, and gone to their severall homes. *Cromwel* pretended that this was immediate providence, and an eminent and gracious return of prayer, and we ought not in any wise said he but to admire, and be silent, and wait upon the providence of God, and see what the issue will be, for certainly it must be glorious when it comes in the Arms of prayer. With such and such Saintlike expressions did he cozen the poor Generall, and made him return frustrated of his purpose, under pretence, of using holy means to attain his purpose.

Cromwel by this religious cheat having put the business past recalling, pretended to those Ladies and Gentlewomen that solicited him about the preservation of the Kings life, that none was so desirous to save the King as he, & gave out that the worst they should do to him, was only to bring him on the scaffold to terrify him, that he might yield to those things that were for the good of the Kingdom; Thus the Officers of the Army had order to tell their Souldiers, and they thought no otherwise, as they vowed and swore afterwards.

But to the History in order as it lieth; Jan. 27. being *Saturday*, the High-Court of Justice (as they called themselves) met, and now *Bradshaw* had got on his red coat, and in he comes, attended with 67. of his party that sat with him; amongst whom were *Cromwel* and *Ireton*. The King came from Sir *Robert Cottons* house guarded with Souldiers, and the Mace before him;

when he came into the Court and turned himself about, looks down the Hall, and every way about him; the souldiers (who were now taught a new lesson) cryed out, execution, execution, in the Kings ears; to astonish him with the horrid thoughts of sudden death.

The King perceiving by the red gown on *Bradshaws* back, and by the cry of the Souldies, that they intended that day to pass their sentence of death on him, desired to be heard; and the rather, because it did conduce exceeding much to the good of the Kingdom, for the peace of it, & the good of his people in it; which he protested he aimed at more then his own particular good: Therefore he desired to be heard (before they passed sentence on him) before the Lords and Commons in the painted Chamber; there he had something to say to them which deeply concerned both; and that which would be worth the hearing; if not, he gave them leave to be the Judges, and lay the blame on him. However such a delay, he said, could not be prejudicial to them, and this demand he thought, being it so much concerned the welfare of the Kingdom, and the life of a King, it might easily be granted him; but if they refused to grant him this reasonable request, he would protest against them as men that were not real for the liberty of the subject, and peace of the Kingdom.

The Court withdrew for half an hour, and then returned again with this answer to the King, that they had been too long delayed by him already, and therefore notwithstanding all his profers of peace to the Kingdom, and liberty to the Subject, they were resolved to proceed to Sentence and Judgment.

The King protested 'twas the Kingdoms welfare and peace more then his own life, that he looked at chiefly; and a delay of a day or two farther might give peace to the Kingdom, whereas an hasty Judgment may bring that trouble to the Kingdom, that the child unborn may repent it; And therefore (said the King) I do again out of that duty I ow to God and my Country, desire that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the painted Chamber; to this *Bradshaw* the President replied, this was but what he had said before, and therefore the Court desired to hear what he would say before they did proceed to sentence; this I say (said the King) that if you will hear me, I do not doubt to give satisfaction to you; and to my people, and therefore I do require

you

you (as you will answer it at the dreadfull day of Judgment) that you will consider it once again.

The Lord only knows what the King had to say to them, but it was doubtless something of great importance, and that which lay within his breast, which he would fain have revealed before he dyed; but these unreasonable and unmercifull men, whose design was only to drink his innocent blood, would not hear him; but after they had reproached him, called him the greatest of Tyrants, and used many blasphemous speeches against him: they caused a bold fellow to stand up and read a sentence, which was to sever the Royall head of *Charles Stuart* (King of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*) from his sacred body, after it was read said *Bradshaw* (standing up) this is the Sentence and Judgment of the whole Court, at which the Court stood up; *Cromwell* and *Ireton* rising up, the two formost and readiest in the Court, though they knew themselves the very hinderers of the settling of the peace of the Kingdom, and the chief causers of the Kings ruine, in dissuading him from treating with the Commissioners of both Kingdoms.

The King after Sentence stood up to speak, but *Bradshaw* told him that after the Sentence he might not speak, neither would he hear him, but gave command to the guard to withdraw the prisoner; The King said that he might speak after sentence, then the King would have spoke; but the guard opened the Bar where they put the King, & *Bradshaw* rose to depart, so that they sleighted the Kings words; whereupon the King turning himself to come forth, said. If I your King am not suffered for to speak for my self, what Justice can my people expect to have?

These were the last words the King spoke in *Westminster-Hall*, as the King passed from the Court through the Souldiers, the Souldiers with a loud shout cryed execution, execution, with such fierceness, that I that stood near the King trembled with fear, least they would have murdered him in the Hall, but it seems it was but a design to fright the King, and to discompose his well-composed Spirit: This was the hurry of all about him immediately after the sentence; is he condemned? What? Is he now going to his execution? is it to night, or the morrow morning? Thus they cryed it in his ears, on purpose to amaze him

him, some (they sayd) reviled, and mocked him, and others with indignation spit upon him, yet was he not disturbed in his soul so much as to tread one foot awry, and to shew the least discontent in his Countenance.

He was carried from Sir Robert Cottons to Saint James's, where he had the liberty of his Chaplain allowed him, who spent that last Sabbath of his on earth, with much comfort and joy together; all that holy day he spent in holy meditations, hearing, reading, and prayer; he was trimming up his celestial Spouse [his Soul] for her celestial Bridegroom, which he every hour looked for.

The Lords day being done, he spent the most part of the long night in devout prayer, never putting off his cloaths: a worthy Lady told me, that a souldier which guarded him, by stealth heard the King alone at prayer, who prayed so sweetly, so fervently, and so charitably, that he thought if ever any King had Communion with God on earth, it was he, he did confesse his sin, and his Families and peoples sin with much debasednesse of spirit, and prayed heartily for remission, and for those his persecutors pardon, and for the establishing of true Religion: after this manner did he spend the Lords day at night.

The next morning being very desirous to see his children that were in England, with much ado they were permitted to goe and visit their imprisoned and condemned Father.

At this time they divulged it throughout the Kingdome in a Pamphlet, that the Paesbyterian Ministers, such as Mr. Calamy, Mr. Case, Mr. Love, Mr. Jenkins, &c. that they were content to have the King tryed, condemned, and deposd, but not beheaded: Hence I suppose, some malicious knaves, or ignorant fools brought up this for a saying, that the Presbyterians brought his neck to the block, and the Independents cut it off, but the Presbyterian Ministers that Lords day did vindicate themselves, confute Hugh Peters his Sermon of binding Kings in chains, and Nobles in fetters of iron, and protest against the imprisoning, trying, condemning, and going about to behead the King.

The Lady Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester being come to weep in their condemned Royall Fathers bosome, the King with a pleasant countenance and voice blessed them, and embraced them,

them, speaking thus to the Lady Elizabeth.

Sweet heart, I am glad you are come; for though I have not time to say much to you, yet I have that to say to you which I have not to say, or leave in writing with another for you; for such is their cruelty towards me, that they will not permit me to write to you, nor any of my children. The King seeing the poor young Lady so weep most bitterly, and torment her self in grief, he out of pity to her said: I pray thee do not grieve nor torment thy self for me, for though I shall be put to death to morrow, yet the death that I shall die, will be a glorious death, for I die for the Laws of my Kingdome, and the Liberties of my People, and the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, in which I would have you well grounded, and therefore admonish you to read Bishop Andrews Sermons, Hookers Eccles. Policie, and Bishop Lauds book against Fisher, which will ground you against Popery.

I have this day forgiven all mine enemies, and I hope God will forgive them, and I do command you, and all the rest of your brothers and sisters to forgive them; and tell my dear wife your mother, that my thoughts have never stray'd from her, but she hath always been next my heart, and my love shall be the same to her to my last minute. I charge you and your brother to be obedient to her, and be sure to love your brothers and sisters, to whom I would have you send my blessing, with commendation to all my friends: And now my dear daughter, God Almighty, bless thee, and preserve thee from all my enemies, whom I charge you to forgive, but never to trust them, for they have been most false to me, and false to the Parliament that intrusted them, and I fear to their own souls; and now thou art parting with thy Father, (my dear daughter), do not go away grieving from me, for though I die I shall die a Martyr, and I doubt not, but that the Lord will settle my Son in my Throne, from which I am this day thrown, and you my children will be more happy, than you could have expected to have been if I had lived: All this and much more he spake to the Lady Elizabeth, instructing the young Duke his son, to learn betimes to serve and fear the Lord, and he would provide for him: it would have drawn water out of a rocky heart, to have seen the said parting off this solitary condemned imprisoned King, and his dear children.

The poor Lady went away weeping, not only tears, but blood,

bloud, and bloud in great abundance, so that the Physicians concluded, that he would bleed to death.

The King sadly parting with his beloved children (for they parted never to see each other more) he forthwith betook himself to private duties, knowing his time of departing out of this world drew on apace, nor having many hours more to live: This night he spent also in trimming up his lamp, for to meet the Bridegroom who was neer at hand, nor putting off his cloaths all night: he altogether neglected his body for the good of his soul.

The next morning, as if the day of Judgement had been come, the King was awaked with a Trumpet, not to tell him the Resurrection was come, but to raise him up to go to his grave: this sound was to him the lesse terrible, by how much the lesse 'twas unexpected, he was quickly ready. This was on Tuesday, Jan. 30. 1648.

About ten of the clock, with a party of five hundred soldiers before the King, and a party of five hundred behind him, and about thirty *Partizans* on each side him, he was guarded through *S. James's Park* to *White-Hall*, *Dr. Juxon* being allowed to go along with him as his Chaplain.

The King had prepared himself for the Sacrament, resolving to eat a spirituall breakfast before he took his long journey to the spirituall *Jerusalem*.

Dr. Juxon at the Sacrament following the Protestant Liturgy of *England*, read the Lessons appointed for that day, the second Lesson being *Matth. 27*. Providence so ordering it, that Christ would not only give himself slain (to this Royall Martyr of his) in the Sacrament for his support in his sufferings, but lay before his eyes the pattern of his owne sufferings for him to follow.

The King asked whether that were the lesson appointed for the day, the Bishop told him, it was for the day: whereat the King exceedingly joyced, as seeing the gracious hand of his Saviour speaking as it were from heaven to him, and resolving that doubt which he had in him, whether he had best refuse to submit to the punishment as he did not submit to the guilt: he there perceiving how his innocent Saviour submitted to the punishment,

withment who had no guile found in him, resolved (being a sinner) to submit willingly to the hand of God, and to lay down his life without struggling, as his blessed Lord and Saviour had left him a pattern: with much devotion, joy, and spirituall livenesse, he was observed to receive the Sacrament; after which there was a suddain message came unto him, as if on purpose to disturb him, that he must speedily prepare himself, for the glasse was turned, and he had but that hour more to live: which message was as an arrow shot through the heart of the Bishop, and the rest that loved the King; whereupon the King said to the Bishop, my Lord, do not you pity me, well, after one hour is expired, I shall pity you, and all the people in my Kingdome.

As he came through the banquetting house, there they had placed his Coffin in his eye, purposely to deject him, and strike him with terror when he came on the Scaffold, and saw the block, and the pullicies, and devises which were made to bring him, as an Oxe to the slaughter, and to inforce him to the block, in case he refused to lay down his neck thereon: he lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and said, *I am a sinner, and willing to submit myself to the punishing hand of God, but not to the unjust sentence of men.*

He made a Speech upon the Scaffold, out of which I shall only recite this passage, because I will not be tedious.

The peoples Liberty (he proves) consists in Government, for for the maintainance of their Government, he saith, he was condemned.

Sirs (saith he) it was for this that now I am come here: If I would have given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you, and pray God it be not laid to your charge, that I am the Martyr of the people.

After his speech, he called for his night cap, and putting it on, prepared himself to suffer that punishment his enemies had judged him unto. The Sun shined that morning very clear without intermission, untill the King came to the block, and lay down, and then at that instant a little dark thick cloud covered the face of the Sun which made it dark, insomutch that a gentlewoman standing by me to behold this dreadfull tragedy, cry-

adown, look look Sir, the Sun is ashamed, and hideth his face, as loathing to see this horrid murder: immediately upon her words the fatal blow was given, such a one against Christian Religion, as all the devils in hell could not strike: as once the dreadfull pernicious blow again.

This bloody stroke being struck upon the Royall neck of the only Protestant King in the world, it seemed rather to fall upon the people, then the King, for so soon as it fell upon his neck, the people cryed out with so grievous and dolefull a cry, as I never heard before; it rais'd a flood of tears from which sprung out of the eyes of all that had ears to hear, and hearts to understand the reason, from the Noble, to the beggar, I observed that day, was a weeping day, I scarce saw a shop of the thousands I saw that day, wherein I saw, not weeping eyes, with hands wringing, each other, to expresse the anguish of their hearts.

The Presbyterian Congregations in the City of London for the most part assembled together; all, or the most part of the night before the King was to suffer to pray for the King, if it were the will of God to pray him out of trouble, how ever to prepare him for his sufferings, and to carry him through them with the comfort of the Holy Ghost: Never did King go to heaven in a greater cloud of prayer and tears then this King, and never was there greater mourning for the loss of any King then this: I think there was scarce a Protestant in the world, to whom the true relation came, but shed tears for him: I have talked with travellers who can tell more then this, how much this King was mourned for, especially when they saw his book, which is translated into all languages almost, and sent into every Countrey.

At this time there was a consultation held amongst the grandees of the sword, mon, concerning a Massacre of the chiefe Royallists and Presbyterians, both Nobles Gentry and Citizens, of the chiefe of whom they had a List, as also some in prison: this was (as was by severall hands informed) carried in the affirmative, untill one (more pollicke then the rest) rose up and told them, 'twas the ready way to have their own throats cut: soge now they had the Army at London, and the Army divided.

into Levellers and others, which Levellers were falling off more and more, and therefore this blade (like *Achitophel*) gave counsell wisely, saying, that they had time enough to deal with them hereafter, without running so desperate a hazard.

This was the stopping of that bloody massacre, and there was good ground for it, for *Lilburn*, *Osburn*, *Overton*, *Prince*, and *Walwin* perceiving themselves cheated of their design, and that *Cromwell* called them in merely to keep them quiet, not to yeeld to any of their demands, and perceiving that *Cromwells* designs were to bring old *England* into the Spanish Mode, that is, to set up a Councell of State to manage the Affairs of State, and an Inquisition, or High Court of Justice to judge in matters criminal, they seeing into what a tyrannicall rode he was got, like open-hearted men did declare to the world, that the way was by rancill, and against the Liberty of the people, and did ploted against *Cromwell* as a seducer, and a subtill hypocritical Flatterer.

These Levellers (as they falsely called them) did lie as arosse barre in the Spanish Factions way, which hindered them from shedding the blood of the Protestants, as they intended.

However they shewed their intentions, for within a month we had news from severall parts, of some Ministers that were shot for praying for the King, and preaching for the Covenant.

Master *Calton*, a pious, grave, and learned Minister of *London*, was within a month after the King was cut off, apprehended as a Traitor, and clapt into prison, for praying that God would restore the late Kings Son to his just right, after they had cut off the Protestant King, they proceeded to cut off the great Beeres of *Europe*, especially those that had opposed an any time heretofore the Spanish Faction. They had three pious Nobles of the Land in hold, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel*, these three who were sincere Protestants and protectors of the Orthodox Government, and Lawes of the Kingdom, they had their heads chopped off in one day upon one block, *Hamilton* and *Holland* they sawed a grutch of eves since they broke the Spanish design, in making up the breach be-

twixt the two Nations in 1639, and being instruments of procuring a Parliament to the overthrow of the Spanish Faction.

As for the Lord *Goring*, who was deepest in the treason of which they were all accused, he having a son of the right Spanish cut, and old *Goring* himself being no back friend to them, he had not a hair of his head diminished, but got his pardon, and his release on a suddain.

The Scots Commissioners who were sent from *Scotland* to treat with the King at the Isle of *Wight*, remained here untill now, who seeing these abominable practices, both in secluding the Members of the Commons House, throwing downe the House of Lords, and cutting off the King, and so many Protestant Lords, sent a paper to the House of Commons, minding them of their former Declarations, Covenants, and Oathes, and how they had broke them in their late actions, for which they protested against them, and so departed from *London*, going downe to *Grave-end*, there to take shipping for *Scotland*; they had used all means possible to Court the Scots Commissioners into a compliance with them, and the Earle of *Argyle*, they thought they had fast hold of him.

About this time those of the lower House, who now had stiled themselves the Supreme Authority of this Nation, and expected to be owned as a Free State, sent to the *London* Ministers to conferre with them about a reconciliation and agreement betwixt them, assuring them, that they would not take away the Church Revenues, but rather augment them.

The Ministers of the City made this reply, that before they knew in what, and how farre they would require them to comply with them, they could give no positive answer.

At this time *Overton*, *Priest*, and *Walsin*, and *Ellburne*, who were of the levelling party, were cashiered out of *Cromwells* affections, since he had no use of them: before

before he call'd them Saints, and now he calls them devells, giddy headed fellows; herest they openly declared against the present Power, as illegall, tyrannicall, and contrary to the Liberty of the people of *England*: Hereupon they were imprisoned in the Tower, which enraged the levelling party, whereby Providence so ordered it, that they laid open to the world in their printed books, the secret under-hand plotting of *Cromwell* und *Ireton* with the Spanish Faction and the Popish Party, to promote themselves to the Crown.

The Spanish Faction having overthrowne the lawfull Magistracy of *England*, make it their designe to throw downe the lawfull Orthodox Ministry of *England*, they tryed many waies, before any could take to the purpose, as crying downe of the Ministry: took onely with Sectarians, crying out against Tythes in generall, would sooner make the Protestants to maintain their owne Ministers, and starve their Faction, rather then the Orthodox Ministry, so that that would not doe neither; then they tryed by the Agreement of the People, but the Lancastrian Ministers, the *Devonshire*, and the *Essex*, and the *London* Ministers so banged that, and the present Usurpers in the State, that that was ashamed to shew its head any more openly; they therefore went as deep as hell to frame a terrible instrument against the godly Orthodox Divines, both in Cities, Countreys, and Universities, and that was by framing an Obligation or Oath directly contrary, as possibly could be devised, to those former Oaths and Obligations, wherein they stood bound all the daies of their lives, according to their places and callings to maintaine; by this hellish cunning stratagem onely the conscientious, knowing, sincere-hearted Protestants, were most injured, and the most illiterate irreligious, time-serving turncoats were kept in.

There was never since the Gospell was planted in *ENGLAND* a more pernicious trap laid to insnare the godly Ministry then this; this took right according to the Spanish Factions desires. Now that the common people

people might not stumble at it, they would not call it an Oath, or Vow, or Protestation, but Engagement, one of the easiest words for the conscience that they could pick; neither was this taken in so solemn manner, as Oaths, but only subscribed; neither was it any long business, but only two or three words, and who would not subscribe two or three words to live quietly thus the Country boares, and the silly Citizens, to enjoy hicks for their bodies, put their souls at the stake mean while, without considering of it, or suspecting any danger in it.

Now did the Spanish Faction begin to spur on upon the design, ruining not only the Protestant Ministry, but all the sound Protestants in the Kingdome, and so high they would have drove it, that it should have been death for that man, and confiscation of estate as a Traytor, that should refuse to subscribe it.

This bloody design had probably been put in execution, had not the providence of God by the same Instruments that stopped them from the massacring of the Protestants, immediately after the Kings death; now stopped them again; for the Levelling party began to swell and rage, and revolt from the Army; they cry'd out of *Cromwell* and his packt party, as a company of mercenary Pyrats; and false Traytors to the Liberties of the people of England; and hereupon began to refuse to obey *Cromwells* orders; the first resistance was made by a desperate bold fellow called *Lockier*, who in *Bishops-gate-street* with twelve of his fellow troopers stood out against his Captain, and would not march with him, whereupon *Cromwell* was informed (that this deacon should set others on fire) to suppress these fellows, causing *Lockier* to be shot to death, which cruelty enraged the souldiers of the Army the more, so that in *Wiltshire*, *Northamptonshire*, and *Oxfordshire*, the Levellers in the Army were revolted from the Army, and making head against it, and hereby the edge of their bloody sword, which intended to have drunk the Protestants blood, was once again diverted.

The Protestants that stood for Kingly Government in *Scotland*, being one part of them suppressed, and the Government party in a quier posture very weak, having been lately gashed by the prevailing Royal party under *Marshall*, in consequence to which whole Army, the Kingdome of *Scotland* lost the best of their

Armes

Armes and Artillery, and the Royal party in England, suppressed, and the Government party disbanded and secluded all Offices of trust and profit to the Spanish side; as was now to suppress the Royal party, that upheld Kingly Government in Ireland, and who were to the Earl of Inchiquin and the Marquis of Harwood, with whom joined the Lord Taffe, and the Bishop of Down whom Cromwell hanged, their side head against the Irish Rebels, who by the Popes command had renounced their Allegiance to the King of England, the which the Lord Taffe, and the Bishop (though Papists both) did so against the Popes excommunication of them, so that Cromwell as he hanged this Bishop, (as afterwards he did) was a work of his prerogation in the Popes book.

The Arch-rebels in Ireland who first rebelled, and afterwards renounced the King of England, now upon the face of all the world shook hands and joyned with the Irish Rebels Army, entering into a strange league with (as you will see) a rebellion of Armes which Colonel Monk had order to confirm these Rebels giving the first rixe to the new government of England, selling the high and mighty free States, this open confederacy all the Protestants that heard of it in Europe cryed out aloud of, which the Jesuits positions of England perceiving, laid the fault on Colonel Monk, which Monk was formerly a great Royalist; but for that act Colonel Monk was removed into Cromwells house, and there to this hour (if living) he continues, having one

The Protestant King being out of the House of Lords renounced the Government Protestants in the House of Commons secluded the Spanish Faction predominant in the Lower House, and now the Spanish Government by a Councell of State and High Court of Justice likely to be established in regard the Rebels their side such enemies more by Cromwell now vanquished, it was his high time for this Spanish Faction to celebrate a day in memorial of their success; therefore in June 1649 a general thanksgiving day was kept, wherein they literally fulfilled (as he that writes of *Matthews* faith) that propheticke Text when the wicked shall be slain, & *Levi* shall say, they shall be joyed and be glad, and sing, give a new song, because of the

two Witnesses that vexed them. Indeed the words of their Act run something like the words of the Text; for they celebrate the day chiefly (they say) for this end, because those that obstructed Justice were removed out of the way, and who were those that obstructed Justice but the King; the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, and the Covenant-keeping Ministers? and what was the Justice they did obstruct, but only the keeping of Traytors to the Protestant Laws, and Protestant Religion out of the Throne?

At this great Feast which was made by the City, to which the Speaker and his party, and *Cromwel* and his party were invited and came; there were mutual gifts from one party to the other: The City presented gold and plate, and they on the other side gave the City one of the Kings Parks: this thanksgiving day only the Independents kept, and some Cavaliers, but none of the Presbyterians.

Immediately after this, *Cromwell* was voted to go to suppress the Protestants in Ireland, that upheld Kingly Government; he was voted Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland for three yeers.

This Politician before he went, he thought he would make better penniworths of those fowl Articles he had against the Speaker, then his bare compliance with him, which (now the work of throwing down the Parliament, and cutting of the King, was over) he cared not of a straw for; therefore he sent [knowing the Speaker to be a monied man] to him, to lend him [if I mistake not the Sum] twenty thousand pound for the present expedition, the Speaker denied to lend him any such summe. Here-upon *Bernard* a Priest, that formerly had been either the keeper of the Kings Cabinet at *Oxford*, or near to that office, who had disclosed Cabinet-secrets to *Cromwell*; takes upon him [being set on] to charge the Speaker with Treason; drawing up 22. Articles [as I remember] against him, wherein he chargeth the Speaker as one that had held correspondency with the King at *Oxford*, and as one that to gratifie the desires of the Spanish Faction at *Oxford* had released severall Priests, and Jesuites out of *New-gate*, and other prisons, and that during the times of the Warre betwixt the King and Parliament, he constantly kept an Agent at the Kings Court at *Oxford*; this business was suddenly
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quashed, not without a round summe to *Cromwell* doubtless.

Cromwell with an Army passeth into *Ireland*, where he worsteth *Inchiquen* and *Ormond*, buying Towns and Castles of enemies. Poor Master *Calton* that worthy Minister, who had long been in prison for praying for the Kings sonne, that God would restore him [for which piece of Treason, they had a resolution to have made him exemplary to all the Ministers in *England*, had not the Levellers rising prevented them] is now by an act of favor [granted rather to the Levellers, then him] unexpectedly released.

The late contempt of the Presbyterians throughout the Kingdom, in condemning their thanksgiving day, so much provoked them, that in *July* they made an Act that no Minister should directly or indirectly mention the late Kings son in their prayers, [for the Presbyterians prayed constantly and publicly for him] and that those Ministers that did not duly observe their days, and read their orders, should be by the Committees of the respective Counties sequestrated, and put out of their livings.

And in the next month it was stoutly debated, whether Presbytery should be thrown down in the Church of *England*, or established; one day they were against it, and voted it quite down, another day they voted to let it alone; and that the Politicians knew was the best way to throw it down: for had it been directly voted down there, the world would have had a window open to have looked into their designs, but they went a more politic way to work to throw down Presbytery, and that was by passing an Act for the taking of the Ingagement by every person throughout the Kingdom, the Oath ran thus.

I A. B. Do promise that I will be true and faithfull to the Commonwealth of England, as now established without King and Lords. The same day that this Act of theirs passed, there was a sudden and dreadfull stroke of Gods hand seen in the City by blowing up of forty barrells of Gun-powder, which flew above seventy persons in the twinkling of an eye, amongst whom was slain Lieut. Colonel *Smith* under Sir *Hardress Waller*, who had laid violent hands on the Parliament Members, and imprisoned them.

After this Act there was another came out, called an Act for
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the propagation of the Gospel, whereby another door was opened to enter into the Ministry by, without Ordination of the Presbytery, and that was by the certificate of five Ministers named (as the examiners and approvers of such men) in the Act. This should be sufficient institution, induction, and orders, for any man of what calling or profession soever, to enter upon any Living, and execute the office of a Pastor in that Parochial Congregation. This was meerly designed to let in their own party into Church-livings, as the other Act for taking the Engagement, was to pull out those that did oppose them, which they knew were the Covenanteer Protestants.

The names of every man in any office of profit that had not subscribed, were to be returned by April 20. 1650. and he to pay double the profit of his place, during the time he should continue in it, after this return was made. This gave a terrible shake to the pillars of both the famous Universities, who by this Act were in danger of being turned out of their Head-ships. *Cromwell* in Ireland went on successfully, taking Towns, Castles, and strong holds, day after day, and beating *Ormond* and *Inchiquin* to nothing.

The Great and wise Statesmen of *Scotland*, eying all along the Spanish designs, how they were wholly to overthrow those that acknowledged the Supremacy of the Family of the *Stewarts*; perceiving their inveterate malice against that Family, and the Protestants therein, thought it now a fit opportunity, now *Cromwell* was busied in *Ireland*, to establish him whom they had before declared to be their King. The Estates of *Scotland* sent away therefore Commissioners to the King at *Breda*, there to treat with him upon Covenant terms; the which the Spanish Factors about the King perceiving, used all means to prevent; Bishop *Bromrick* a right blade of the *Bilbo* temper, wrote at this time a book in disgrace of the Scottish Nation, and the Scots Religion, on purpose to divert the King from elosing with them; and severall other of the Spanish Faction used all their interest in the Popish Families in *Scotland*, to enervate the power of the Covenant-keeping party in *Scotland*, and to prevent the Kings closing with them.

For this end the Spanish Faction furnished the Earle of *Montrose*, with money, shipping, armes and souldiers, to invade *Scotland*, and to assault the Covenanters, and earnestly solicited the King to joyne with him, but the Commissioners from the Covenanter party in *Scotland*, seasonably prevented him, however *Montrose* vvith his Army invaded *Scotland*, vvith a purpose to disturb that Kingdome, and breake off the Treaty, but God so ordered it in his Providence, that this proud malicious enemy vvvas overthrowne, and received the just reward of a treacherous Papist; for soon after that he vvvas taken prisoner, the Scots condemned him to be hanged, on a very high gallows, and buried him (as I heard) under in.

This newvs (on my knowvledge) did so startle and amaze the Spanish Faction in *England*, and so inrage, that Independent pack, that (though formerly they vvould speake as mild as may be) novv a man might see the Spanish venom in their hypocritical faces and tongues! oh hovv (in my hearing) they did rail on the Presbyterians for a company of merciless villaines, that vvould after that manner hang a Noble man for his good vvill to the King, vvwhich had he really been for the King, none vvould have rejoyced more then these Independents, vvho vvvere novv so much inraged at his ill successe and ruine.

The powers at *Westminster* having removed all obstacles out of their way, began again to fall upon the Ministers; In the Country they made most miserable havock of them, turning them out of their livings, clapping them into prisons.

Master *Jenkins* the Minister of Christ Church they banished the City, and turned him out of his living for not keeping their Fasts day, and Master *Cass* they turned out of his living, because he had not subscribed the Engagement, and Master *Jaggard* they clapped into *Newgate*, where (for ought I know) he remains to this day, for preaching against the powers, in saying it is better to obey God then men; a shrewd piece of Treason.

Master *Love* they had before them again and again, yet had they not power to touch him, but released him again;

they durst not do what they would do to the Ministers at this time, because (as God formerly raised up the Levellers twice to cross their bloody purposes, and divert them from shedding the blood of his pretious Saints so) now God caused the Treaty at *Breda* to startle them, especially the routing of *Montrose*, and the executing of him in that terrible manner; this made them plack back their bloody hand.

The Treaty at *Breda* did so much the more trouble them, by how much the less they were able to understand of it; for it was so wisely managed, and with that secrecie, that to this day the powers at *Westminster* (notwithstanding their many spies) are ignorant of it. This only they then understood (which increased their fear the more) that the King had cast off all his Spanisb malignant hangbles, neither *Windesbank*, nor *Wildepper*, nor *Hilde*, nor any of the rest of them, were permitted to be of his Councell.

The news of this Treaty troubled *Cromwell* and *Ireton* exceedingly, for now he feared the Scots would be in *England*, before he should be ready to meet them: whereupon he leaves the Forces and Command of all *Ireland* to *Ireton*, who ever since hath had the Title of Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

The Treaty being concluded, the Scots Commissioners returned into *Scotland*, to give an account thereof to the Kirk and State.

That the Treaty was concluded, the powers at *Westminster* were informed only, but how, they could not tell, nor none could tell them. However to prevent the worst, they sent forces towards the North, and *Cromwell* came over out of *Ireland*, who was welcomed by his party, over and over; no sooner was he come, but he was made Generall of *England*, for Generall Fairfax was too much a Protestant to be trusted with Spanisb Popish designs, neither would he; whereupon he laid down his Commission, and *Cromwell* presently took it up, and forthwith he advanced with an Army of 5000. men into *Scotland*.

Making the ground of the quarrell (as appeares by their Declarations) to bee this, that they had often sollicitized the Scots to break their Covenant, and renounce their King, and enter into a Confederacy with them; but they refused.

refused; and therefore now they sent an Army to demand reparations for the injuries Duke *Hamilton* had done (though they had his life, and his men they sold for slaves to make satisfaction) with such pretences *Cromwell* invaded *Scotland*.

A league of friendship at this time was made betwixt the King of *Spain*, and the Common-wealth of *England* secretly.

Prince *Rupert* with whom the King of *Scotland* intrusted the Navy, whereas he should have gone *Northward*, he sailed directly *Southward*, and came to an anchor in *Lisbon Bay*; whether this were the Princes project, as being one of the Spanish Faction; or whether his counsell being of the Spanish Faction drew him thither, or whether 'twas accidentall I cannot certainly learn, only circumstances tell us 'twas a Spanish design to pick a quarrell with *Portugall*, and so thereby to infeebly him at Sea, and make him a prey to the King of *Spain*.

The English ships pursued him, and came to an anchor in the same Bay, where they rid neare each other: fain they would have fought, but the King of *Portugall* would not suffer them within his harbors.

Blake, the chief Commander of the Ships for the Common-wealth of *England*, required of the King of *Portugall* (after he had rid there many weeks) the delivery of Prince *Rupert* and his ships up unto him, being the ships of the Common-wealth of *England*; this *Blake* did by order from the Statesmen of *England* his Masters: the King of *Portugall* refused to do it, as being an unreasonable demand, and contrary to the Law of Nations.

The King of *Portugall* perceiving (by the daily squabbles which were in his harbor) the inconveniency of letting two enemies lie at anchor in his harbor, commanded (very unadvisedly) *Blake* to be gone, whereas had he commanded Prince *Rupert* to be gone, he might (being the weaker) have gained two tides of *Blake*, and the King of *Portugall* ought so long (being within his bound) to have detained him; but *Blake* (being the thing he desired) according to command weigheth anchor, and sailed out of the harbor, and at a distance lay before the harbors mouth, expecting Prince *Rupert* coming forth.

Blake by order from the Common-wealth of *England* (who had

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had now beaten the Scots, and were lifted up in pride) fell upon the *Portugall* Fleet, and stopped all ships going in or out, which made all *Portugall* on an uprore, crying out (and that truly) that *England* was in a confederacy with *Spain*, and that *Don John* of *Austria* the Spanish Admirall and the English, were designed to fall upon *Portugall*: hereupon the English Merchants estates were all sequestred, and acts of hostility committed openly by the English Statesmen of warre every day, not long after they fall foule upon the *Brazile* Fleet belonging to the *Portugall*, wherein they did many thousand pounds worth of mischief to the King of *Portugall*, and had not the King of *Spain* met with crosse winds about that time, both at home and abroad, the King of *Portugall* would have felt as well as understood the confederacy betwixt *England* and *Spain* against him; but I am too tedious in such pertinent excursions, to return therefore to *England* again.

The cruelty of the Spanish Faction was such against the poor Scots and their Families that lived in *England*, that they made an Act to banish all of them that were not free Denizons of *England*, to the utter ruine of many a poor Family, who notwithstanding must patiently indure it, and be gone.

The Scots Army consumed the English by delaies, more then by fighting with them, insomuch that at the last *Cromwell* feared how he should get out of *Scotland* without a totall rout, for the Scots followed him close, and blocked them up at *Dunbar*, where *Cromwell* plowing with the Scots Heifer; he made unexpected deep bloody furrows on the Scots backs, for so he had (according to my best information) wrought with *Swinton*, one whom the Kirk intrusted to be as eyes to the good old General *Lavers*, and to be his Adjutant; a man it seems of singular parts, that he perswaded the Scots Generall to send his horse for refreshment into the Countrey, in regard horse and man had been long without food, which he did, leaving only *Stranghans* Regiment on the guard, which *Stranghan* was confederate with *Swinton*, who when he had perswaded the old Generall *Lavers* to goe to rest, gave *Cromwell* notice, who was ready to take that victory which *Swinton* and *Stranghan* were ready to give him; and thus by *Stranghans* furious retreat through the foot quarters of all the

the Scots infantry, became a sacrifice to the swords of merellese men, who took ten thousand, and slew near four thousand more, selling many of those they took for slaves, and famishing in a most barbarous way very many others of them.

This unexpected victory did exceedingly raise the spirits of the Spanish Faction: now *Cromwel* sends a Letter full of reproaches against the Scots Ministers, some of which he saith he had slain in that battell, and now he hinteth to his party at *Westminster*, not to forbear the Presbyterians that would not acknowledge their Power, notwithstanding their tender consciences.

Great was the sadnesse of the hearts of the Covenant keeping party throughout *England*, and great were the blasphemies and insulting reproaches of the Independent Ingagers.

The late Kings two children, the Lady *Elizabeth*, and Duke of *Glocester*, pretty souls! they were taken (as two weaned Lambs out of the Pasture) being bereft of Father and Mother, and brothers and sisters, were taken by strangers from the Earle of *Leicester*, and carried to the Ile of *Wight*, there to be pent up in that Castle where their Father had been prisoner.

Thither the sad news of their Brothers losse was brought, which the Lady *Elizabeth* laid exceedingly to heart, and within three or four daies after took her leave of the troublesome world, which did every day whilst she lived dig fresh springs of grief and trouble in her soul.

She left her Brother like a Dove in the valley all alone, grieving for the losse of his dearest companion his sister, and what's become of him since, whether living or dead I cannot tell, it was whispered that his sister was poysoned to death, because they both were put into the hands of a woman (as I heard) who long before wished (to some of the Spanish Faction that cut off the King) that she had the keeping of them a little while, for it would never be well so long as one of them was living.

For this great victory in *Scotland*, there was a day of Thanksgiving appointed to be observed in every Congregation throughout the Kingdome.

The Lord Mayor of the City of *London* sent to the Ministers of the City, to know whether they would keep the Thanksgiving

ving day or not, *Dr. Genge* made answer first, that he could not because he was not satisfied about the lawfullnesse of it, and so did all the Presbyterian Ministers, except one or two timorous faint-hearted time-servers.

This day was a joviall merry day with the Independents, they prepared for the day (in severall of their Congregations) singing-songs against the Scots, and in praise of their Generall *Cromwel*, amongst which worshipfull company of Balad-makers *John Goodwin* was found to have a name for that daies work.

This day was a day of blasphemy and sore reproach to God, and his Church, and his Truth, for they intitled God to all their wickednesse, that God approved of all their former evill doings, and therefore crowned their indeavours with good success.

The poor Presbyterian Ministers were threatned cruelly for not observing this day, and they expected daily to be persecuted.

The death of the Prince of *Orange*, within a moneth after this Thanksgiving day came into *England*, which made the Spanish Faction leap for joy; for now the King of *Spain* by dividing of them, made account to recover those Provinces again, which had been so long out of his Power. Within a few daies after came the joyfull news of beating *Prince Rupert*, and taking and sinking his ships at Sea.

About this time the King of *Spain* in some of his seaport Towns, proclaims a League defensive and offensive with the Common-wealth of *England*, and open war against the King of *Scotland*; this I had from Merchants that knew this to be true; so that here the Common-wealth of *England* was at peace with a Popish King, to ruine a Protestant King, and the only Protestant King in the world, that is, a Calvinist. Judge Reader, whether the Spanish Faction be not predominant in this Common-wealth, or not.

Within a moneth after in *January* came the news to *Westminster*, of the surrender of that invincible Castle at *Edinburgh*, which they bought of the souldiers that kept it, and soon after that, the news of the routing of *Straughan* and *Carr* in the West of *Scotland*; together with *Straughan* falling off from the King of Scots, to *Cromwel*.

The

The tumbling in of these successes one upon the neck of the other, caused the exalted States at *Westminster*, in contempt of the Royall Family of the *Stuarts*, the chief whereof they had murdered at his own door, most impudently and barbarously, and in contempt of him, and his eldest Son his Successor (whom the Scots like heroick gentlemen, in the midst of their misfortunes had crowned for their King) to set apart the 30. of *January* for a Thanksgiving day, the very day on which they murdered the King, this day the Presbyterians abhorred to keep, only the Independents and the Cavalier persons observed it diligently, this thirtieth of *January* the Papists have cause to keep, as strict as the Protestants, the fifth of *November*. As the Scots united, gathered courage, & crowned their King in this moneth, so the King of *Spain* & the Common-wealth of *England* united the more closely, and appeared more openly to own and imbrace each other; for upon this the King of *Spain* gave Commission to his Ambassador, to own as from him the Common-wealth of *England* for a free State, and upon the same proclaimed warre against the King of *Scotland* in all his Sea-Port Towns, giving order to seize on any Scots, men of war, or others of that Kingdom. The Ambassador had instructions not to own the Common-wealth of *England* for a free State, untill the House of Commons was pulled down, & the Council of State invested with the power, which upon *Cromwells* return out of *Scotland* was expected; but *Cromwell* finding harder work there then he expected, made his return not so soon as the Spanish Faction promised to themselves, in requitall of the King of *Spain*, the Common-wealth of *England* in favour to the Catholics, took off all Oaths and penall Statutes, that were offensive to the Consciences or estates of the Papists in *England*.

In the mean time the King of *Portugal*, who seeing the Spanish forces under the Arch-Duke *Leopold* so potent in *France*, and *Don John* of *Austria* strong at Sea, and the Spanish Faction in *Rome* and in the bowells of *France* so potent, so that he could expect no help from thence; & perceiving also the King of *Spain* so cunningly environing him, with full purpose to overthrow him, thought it good policy to send an Ambassador into *England*, if by any means, to make peace with them, that so the English Navy that blocked up his harbours might be removed, and the Spanish designs against him prevented.

Hereupon the Spanish Ambassador (sooner otherwise then he would have done) to prevent this League (so soon as the *Portugal* Ambassador was come upon English ground) owned the Power at *Westminster* for a free State, so that when the *Portugal* Ambassador (whose Master had received great injuries from the English Navy) came (for Peace sake) not only to sit down contented with the losse the *Portugal* had sustained by the English, but to buy peace with the English at a dear purchase; after many flourishes and pretences, he was sent away quite frustrated of his purposes; against all reason and civility, which should the King of *Portugal* revenge (as he may) many brave Merchants of *England* would be utterly ruined, which is the desire of the Spanish Faction.

Now least the *Portugal* should enter a League with the *Hollanders*, and so betwixt them keep up the *Brazile* trade in despite of the Spanish and English plots, such was the prevalency of the Spanish Faction in the *Netherlands*, since the Prince of *Oranges* death, that (I know not how to insert it) the breach was made as wide, if not wider betwixt the *Hollander* and the *Portugal*, in terms of Agreement, then betwixt the English and the *Portugal*, and that it might continue so, this (amongst many others) was the cause of *Saint Johns* going in magnificent pomp an Ambassador, sent by the Spanish Faction of *England* into *Holland*, his instructions were mystetious, but his designs and theirs that sent him were understood: for had there been a firm League betwixt the *Hollander* and the Common-wealth of *England*, *England* and *Spain* would have carried on their designs against *Portugal*, *France*, and the *West India* Islands without controul at Sea; and *Dunkirk Flanders* and *Brabant*, would by the help of the English have quickly been brought under the Dominion of the King of *Spain*, and *France* it self hereby in great danger: and without all doubt, had *Cromwel* conquered *Scotland* (which he thought long since to have accomplished) *France* should have known the design of the stately new fashion'd English boats, which are now at *Scotland*, viz. that they were principally ordained for the expeditious waisting over of horse and men into *France*, where the English Army thought before this day to have been.

The *Hollanders* having these things in their eye, and knowing that the prosperity of the Common-wealth of *England*, as now established

established; depends upon the good success of their Army in *Scotland*, which should it miscarry, they are utterly and irrecoverably lost; though it good policy not to bind themselves to such a tottering pillar, least in so doing it should fall to their ruine; therefore with complements they delayed the Ambassador, mean while the L. *Willoughby* chose the Hollander his protector at the *Barbados*, by which means English Merchants lose, and *Holland* gaineth the whole trade there.

I forgot one passage which manifests the prevalency of the Spanish Faction within the bowells of the Kingdome of *France* at this time, and that was concerning the design of ruining Monarchy, and setting up Anarchy in the Kingdome of *France*.

The grand intestine divisions amongst the chief Dukes of *France*, were first begun by those vermin of State the Jesuits, first breeding jealousies and fears of each other, and then setting them to work to supplant each other: long had the Peers of *France* been at this work, at last they came to make violent resistance at each other, and so blew it up to a civil war, where the Jesuits in every great Family, and especially with the City of *Paris* and in the Parliament, there blew up the coal of contention; and privately flattered Cardinall *Mazarini*, who doubtless (as having been Cardinall *Richlieus* Secretary) knew better how in the Kings minority to govern *France*, then any one in *France*; and was doubtlesse a most cordiall friend to the Crowne of *France*; therefore the Jesuits hated him, for their designs never take, where knowledge and Loyalty lies in their way.

The grand divisions within the bowells of *France* imboldned, the Spanish Army under the conduct of the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, with whom the French Martiall (formerly imployed in the wars against the Emperor in *Germany*) was joyned (the Spanish Faction making the Cessation of Arms in *Germany*, on purpose to make the Martiall of *France*, and the French Army incirely theirs thereby) these with their forces made their approaches near *Paris*, against whom Cardinall *Mazarini* after he had suppressed those insurrections in the North of *France*, and advanced with an Army to meet the Spanish Army, who after a sharp encounter, gave the Arch-Dukes Army a very great overthrow, after which the Cardinall returning to *Paris* with the King,

The Jesuits of the Spanish Faction had so wrought with the Members of the Chamber of the third estate in *Paris*, that they voted *Marinini* a Traytor, with whom some of the French Nobility (*Admirinis* enemies) closed, and unexpectedly threw him out of his Protectorship, and not only so, but banished him *France*; mean while the Spanish Faction not only makes head again without resistance, but the Spanish Faction is like to be predominant at the Court, and Traytors to the poor young King are like to be his Protectors: whilest *England* and *Spain* (had not *Scotland* prevented) would this summer have made an invincible Army against them, and then *France* had been before Winter (which some of the Spanish Faction doe not doubt they say yet to see) a Common-wealth as well as *England*; only the King of *Scotland* with his Army hinders all these fine designs for the present.

For the removing of whom, there is this day gone against *Scotland* the greatest and strongest Army by Land, and the state-liest Navy by Sea, that ever was seen against it since it was a Nation, all things considere d; and (if I mistake not) it hath gained more strong holds and continued longer in *Scotland*, then any enemy that ever came into it, that for the present I can think of: and now because there the day is won or lost on the Spanish side, in the victory of either of these Armies, the Spanish Faction have this day in *Scotland*, and within three daies march of *Scotland* at least fifty thousand men compleatly armed, and every way well appointed, and disciplined for the warre, which should they prevail so far, (which God of his infinite grace forbid) as to overcome the King of *Scotland*, break his Army, take or kill his Royall person, put his Nobles either to the sword, to the flight, or take them Captives, I dare upon very good grounds confidently affirm it, that the Calvinists the sincere professors of the Protestant Religion, shall not have a foot of ground scarce in *Europe* whereon to rest the sole of their foot a twelvemonth in peace and security: woe in that day to the Protestant Ministry of *Scotland* and *England*, it will not be the blood of one precious servant, and Minister of Christ, nor the blood of one hundred that will satisfie the bloody thirst of these Independent Romish wolves, but they will destroy and put to flight

slight all the godly Ministers and faithfull sincere Calvinists in both Kingdoms? have not the chiefest of them spoke it openly: yea, and they are this day most confident to effect it, their trust being [what e're they pretend] in their potent Army, in confidence of which they have once again presumed [in hopes no obstructions [as formerly] will intervene] this third time to lay violent hands on the Covenant-keeping Orthodox learned, and holy Presbyterian Preachers of the Gospell in the City of London, Mr. *Jenkins*, Doctor *Drak*, Mr. *Cafe*, Mr. *Robinson*, Mr. *Jackson*, Mr. *Watson*, Mr. *Havelland*, and Mr. *Love*, eight of the choicest laborious labourers in Gods Vineyard (I think may say of their time) in the world; they are the sweet fingers of *Israel*, the horsemen and the Chariots of the Kingdome, these are those worthies that the Spanish Faction have singled out to the slaughter, and are apace preparing for their execution.

Mr. *Love* that holy and good man, they have brought to his Tryall before the High of Justice, where *Prideaux* the Attorney Generall, and *Keeble* the Judge or that President, as [they call him] like as the Papists upon *John Huffle* that holy Martyr, sent him to the stake with abundance of painted divells on his head, which they put upon him, and in those burned him to death, so did they deal with Mr. *Love*, they called him Traytor and Jesuite, and Incendiary, laying all the blood that hath been shed in Scotland to his charge.

Nor will the blood of these men satisfie them; but their aim is at all the Presbyterian Church-men and Statesmen in the Kingdome: Their design is to heave out of command and Offices of Trust, those sincere Protestants (whom they have to palliate their designs) permitted to sit and vote with them in their Councells hitherto.

They have heaved at Sir *Arthur Hazelrig* oftentimes, but could not prevail. I do know that Sir *Arthur* is hated by the Papists as much as any man in England, and 'tis the Jesuites have set on *John Lilburn* so fiercely upon him, and though *Cook* the prisoner in the Towers Impeachment of those Members of the House of Commons be now slighted, the Spanish Faction, if the Army return from the *Norsh* with victory, will make it ground sufficient to throw down the House of Commons, and cut off the sincere

Protestants, who now sit there to curb as yet the violence of their malicious purposes; but I'll write no more of these things, only this I'll draw from what I have writ, he that reading these Papers will shut his eyes, and not see how the Pope and the Spaniards Countells rule us, let that mans eyes be shut for ever, *He that will be unjust, let him be unjust still, and be that will be filthy, let him be filthy still.*

But let those that are sincere Protestants make halt and come out from amongst the counsellors and conspiracies of these ungodly men, and let them not say a Confederacy with those that say a Confederacy, for God will speedily destroy both it and them.

It is apparent this day to all the world, that their pretended Treason against the Ministers in prison, and out of prison (for they are all in the like danger) is only this, because they desire in the sincerity of their hearts to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man, and to keep their garments clean from the pollution of the times.

This is clear from the Tryall of Mr. Love, where (that they might have some colourable pretence of Treason against him, and so bring in all the Ministers in England that have not subscribed the Engagement into the like condemnation with him, as Conspirators in the same Treason) they have with threats compelled, and with promises allured, and with moneys suborned false Witnesses to swear that he hath held intelligence with the Covenant-keeping party in Scotland, and levied and lent money for the the relief of them: these things [notwithstanding it was openly proved in Court upon Oath, that Adams the chief Witnessse was hired by Major Cobbet for ten pounds, and promised by his examiners large preferments, to impeach Mr. Love, and come in as a witnessse against him] yet this must be the condemnation of this righteous man: but you'll hear more of this at large by a better hand: the main ends of my writing this short Narration, is only to undeceive those many misled Protestants, who know not what they do, nor what they say, when they plead and act for these men, who have blown up our English Parliament, beheaded our Protestant King, thrown down all, and beheaded some of our chief Protestant Nobles, secluded and imprisoned our chief Covenant-keeping Commoners, taken off all Oaths

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and penall Statutes from Papists, and devised oaths, and made Laws against the consciences, persons, liberties and estates of the Protestants, entred a confederacy with the King of *Spain*, that hath covenanted to keep up the Pope, and now wage warr with the only Protestant King, that hath covenanted to throw down the Pope, and are now lifting up the Axe to cut off our Protestant Ministry, which the Lord of his infinite mercy for our Lord Jesus Christ his sake prevent, to which I am confident every sincere Protestant in the world will say. *Amen.*

F I N I S.

Errata.

P Ag. 1. l. 6. r. *Queen Elizabeth in Ireland.* p. 8. l. 3. r. *hearts.* p. 9. l. 11. & 12. r. *Anarchy.* p. 14. l. 38. r. *be.* p. 14. l. 26. r. *yer such.* p. 27. l. 37. r. *stratagema.* p. 30. l. 18. r. *forlake.* p. 31. l. 28. r. *now.* p. 37. l. 26. r. *quake.* p. 48. l. 28. *dele not.* p. 39. l. 26. r. *brazen fac'd, &c.* p. 57. l. 16. r. *witnesse.* p. 60. l. 16. r. *to be a suffici-*
cient ground to proceed upon, &c. p. 80. l. 12. *dele not.*